

THE ANCIENT
ART STONEWARE

OF

THE LOW COUNTRIES AND GERMANY:

OR

"Grès de Flandres" & "Steinzeug":

ITS PRINCIPAL VARIETIES, AND THE PLACES WHERE IT WAS MANUFACTURED
DURING THE XVIIITH AND XVIITH CENTURIES.

BY

M. L. SOLON,

AUTHOR OF "THE ART OF THE OLD ENGLISH POTTER."

ILLUSTRATED WITH 25 COPPERPLATE ETCHINGS AND 210 ILLUSTRATIONS
IN TEXT, DRAWN BY THE AUTHOR.



VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED AT THE CHISWICK PRESS

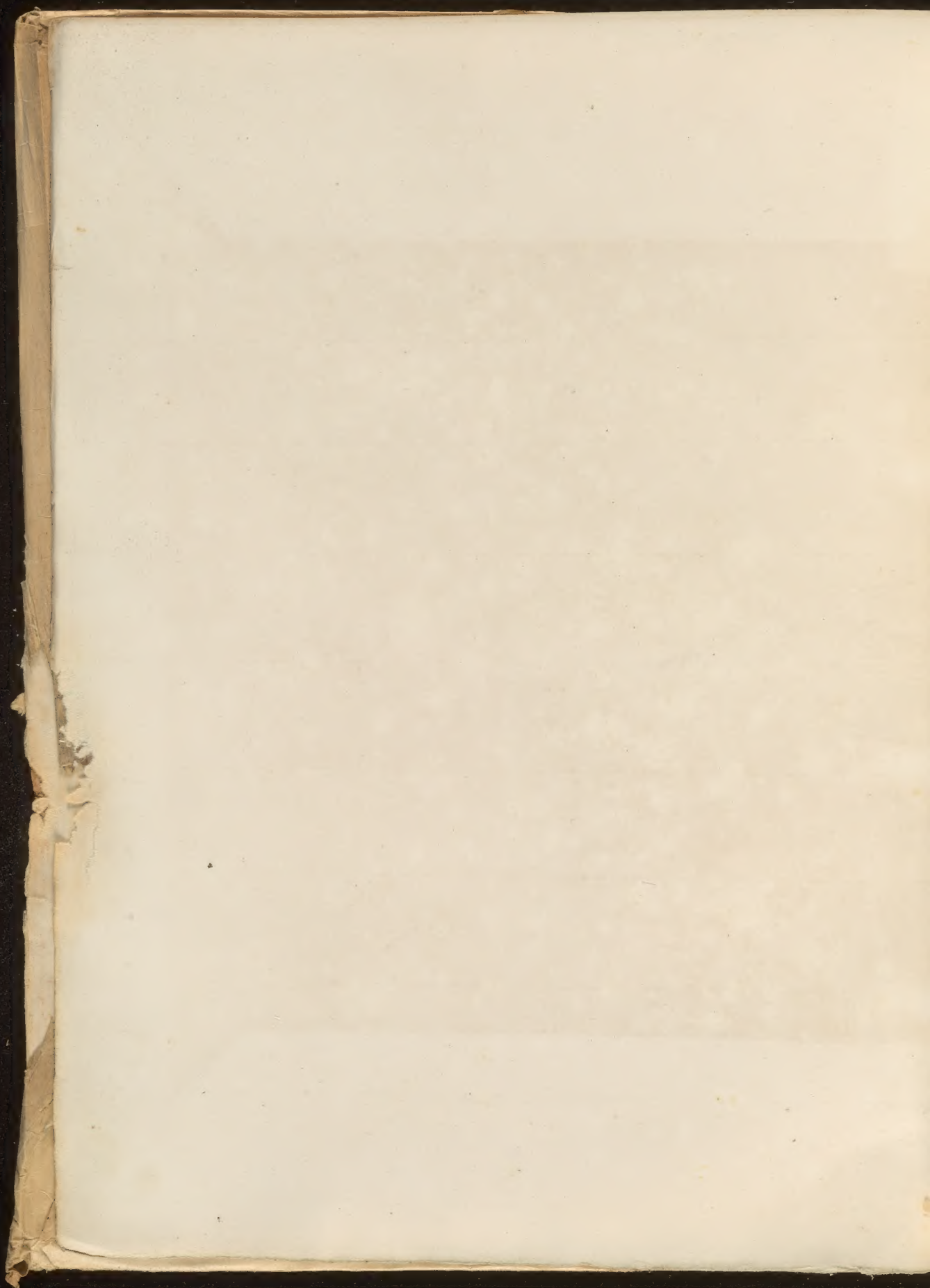
AND TO BE HAD FROM THE AUTHOR, STOKE-UPON-TRENT.

1892.

386
2

2nd \$150.00
600

Doncast.



THE ANCIENT ART STONEWARE
OF THE LOW COUNTRIES AND GERMANY.

Of this book have been printed :

30 Copies on Japanese paper, numbered I.—XXX.

270 Copies on Dutch handmade paper, numbered 1—270.

Of which this is No. 189

L. Solon.

THE ANCIENT
ART STONEWARE

OF
THE LOW COUNTRIES AND GERMANY:

OR
"Grès de Flandres" & "Steinzeug":

ITS PRINCIPAL VARIETIES, AND THE PLACES WHERE IT WAS MANUFACTURED
DURING THE XVITH AND XVIITH CENTURIES.

BY
M. L. SOLON,
AUTHOR OF "THE ART OF THE OLD ENGLISH POTTER."

ILLUSTRATED WITH 25 COPPERPLATE ETCHINGS AND 210 ILLUSTRATIONS
IN TEXT, DRAWN BY THE AUTHOR.



VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR AT THE CHISWICK PRESS.

1892.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY
TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY JOHN STOW.
THE SECOND PART.

ALL such things as are here written
of the City of London, are taken
out of the old Chronicles, and
other good Authors, and are
written in this manner, that
they may be read with ease,
and yet contain much matter.
The first part of this History
contains the Foundation of the
City, and the growth thereof
unto the year of our Lord
1500. The second part
contains the same from that
year unto the year of our
Lord 1600. The third part
contains the same from that
year unto the year of our
Lord 1700. The fourth part
contains the same from that
year unto the year of our
Lord 1800. The fifth part
contains the same from that
year unto the year of our
Lord 1900. The sixth part
contains the same from that
year unto the year of our
Lord 2000. The seventh part
contains the same from that
year unto the year of our
Lord 2100. The eighth part
contains the same from that
year unto the year of our
Lord 2200. The ninth part
contains the same from that
year unto the year of our
Lord 2300. The tenth part
contains the same from that
year unto the year of our
Lord 2400. The eleventh part
contains the same from that
year unto the year of our
Lord 2500. The twelfth part
contains the same from that
year unto the year of our
Lord 2600. The thirteenth part
contains the same from that
year unto the year of our
Lord 2700. The fourteenth part
contains the same from that
year unto the year of our
Lord 2800. The fifteenth part
contains the same from that
year unto the year of our
Lord 2900. The sixteenth part
contains the same from that
year unto the year of our
Lord 3000.



FROM A RAEREN JUG.

PREFACE.



THE times are not yet far from us when a scattered confraternity of unconventional and ardent collectors began, without other guidance than an intuitive taste, their search for things of beauty amongst the then disregarded masterpieces of Art workmanship of past ages, gathering silently and diligently a prodigious and priceless harvest. They called themselves Antiquarians, to the intense merriment of the noble and supercilious bodies of official archæology; but leaving their academic brethren deeply immersed in the hypogeums and catacombs of the Greeks and the

Romans, the adepts of the new faith set their pride on putting aside all acknowledged tradition, and started to look in the most unhallowed spots for the objects of their admiration. One might have seen them one day overhauling the musty contents of a broker's shop, on another scanning the long undisturbed recesses of some tumble-down castle or the vestry of a ruined country chapel, or even rumaging the boxes and cupboards of the cottagers of a distant village. Seldom did they fail, after a well-planned journey of exploration, to bring to light from the limbo of oblivion some wonderful example of the skill and artistic taste of the ancient craftsmen,—undescribed marvels, which, picked up at first for their great rarity and curiosity, were soon to assume their proper rank amongst the recognized art treasures of the next generation.

The historical and emblazoned vessels of ancient stoneware had from the first secured a prime share of the thoughtful attention of these all-absorbing collectors. Tall tapering canettes of white ware, chased all over with emblematic devices; stately brown jugs of architectural profiles, of bronze-like hue, embossed with friezes of elegant figures; blue and purple paunchy pots quaintly floriated, all of them ranged under the generic and purposely vague and indefinite name of "Grès de Flandres," were eagerly sought

after as an indispensable adjunct to an antiquarian cabinet. They had their places marked on the shelves of the old credences and dressers of carved oak, alternating there with the princely and glittering majolicas of Italy, long before the more homely faïences of French manufacture had been thought worthy of sharing that post of honour, and at a time when all porcelain which was not of Oriental origin, or did not bear the world-known marks of Sèvres or Dresden, was disdainfully passed by as being of little or no account.

Meantime, and as cabinets and museums were being formed,—the wonder-containing shrines attracting an ever-increasing crowd of votaries,—new vistas were opened to the Mediæval historian; fresh paths had to be struck in the field of archæologic lore; small clues were patiently taken up which might lead to the solution of one of the many problems lately propounded to the sagacity of the compiler of unexplored documents in the public or private archives: from that branch of studies, so far neglected, originated the now full-blown Ceramic literature.

Each specialist took up a different subject, and full light was thrown in succession upon the many centres of artistic production: pedigrees were worked out and assigned to individual examples of rare workmanship, the vicissitudes of which had been retraced through centuries, back to the time when they left the hands of their makers. Alone these jugs of stoneware, so well worthy of the partiality shown to them from the beginning, were left undescribed, an open problem to all. It was as though one feared that too strict an inquiry into their origin might to some extent dispel the mystery that rendered them so fascinating: history, with its matter-of-fact statements, does indeed often destroy much of the poetry with which tradition or hazy speculation invests the works of past ages, so long as they remain undetermined and anonymous. When a catalogue of a collection of stoneware was attempted, the varieties it comprised were merely grouped according to the shapes and colours of the specimens; not even a plausible supposition was ever hazarded as to the probable place where they might have been produced; no effort was made to obtain any information concerning their makers. In short, strange as it may appear, the "*Grès de Flandres*," after having been, amongst the whole range of potteries left to us by the Middle Ages and the following centuries, almost the first ones which the collector had admired and treasured, were to remain the last of all in finding an historian.

Most ludicrous were the archæological blunders to which some stoneware pieces, unexpectedly turning up in a chance excavation, gave rise in the learned bulletins published in the beginning of the present century. Their truncated and half obliterated inscriptions afforded food to the ingenuity of many a Celtic professor: proud and happy was he who could squeeze any sense, or nonsense, out of these apparently

meaningless syllables. One amongst others we shall recall, as equalling the best jokes attributed to unlucky Antiquarians. It is to be found in the "*Mémoires de l'Académie Celtique*" (T. II. vi.), and refers to a common "bartman" of white clay, just unearthed, which bore round the shoulder the well-known inscription :

ACH GOTT HUE DICH ERBARMEN UBER MICH ARMEN.

"Oh Lord ! have mercy on me, poor man."

The translator, beginning the sentence at the middle, construed it in Celtic :

ERME AT ZE ERMEAK ATCH GOTI DVEN DICHERBAT.

Of which he gave the meaning as :

"This nose is much too small for the foreign Hermes."

The early collectors of works of art were, however, doing their best to draw the outside world into sharing their liking for this unclassified pottery. Jean d'Huyvetter was already, in 1824, publishing the catalogue of his collections, of which the "*Grès de Flandres*" formed the most important part, and to make up for the lack of descriptive particulars gave outline engravings, perhaps not very faithful representations of his pieces, but which could at least supply a tolerable notion of their general forms and decorations.

A few years afterwards the architect Ch. Minard brought out the ponderous volume describing the contents of the archæological museum he had formed at Ghent. There also the "*Grès de Flandres*" had a special and lengthy chapter devoted to them ; and if the illustrations, due to the same hand which had engraved those of the previous catalogue, were still of a very indifferent correctness, great care and accuracy was bestowed on the letterpress, wherein all the particulars of each number was most minutely described.

Lastly, in 1860, Weckherlin caused his splendid collection to be photographed, and formed, for the benefit of his friends, an album in which all the best types of ancient stoneware were represented.

But these publications were all equally deficient in point of information, with regard to the places where the ware had been manufactured, the respective ages of undated specimens, and the names of the skilful craftsmen to whom they were to be attributed. The veil is now partially lifted. Much has been found out during the last twenty years, which makes us wonder how such a state of complete ignorance could have lasted so long. In the present day, in all the public museums of Belgium and Germany, the specimens of artistic stoneware are at last grouped and classified

according to the various centres to which they belong, and this example is being rapidly followed in other countries.

An ample harvest of ancient deeds and records bearing on the subject has rewarded the strenuous and well-directed researches of a few writers devoted to the cause they had been, so to speak, the first to take in hand. Each, in his private capacity, took hold of a particular clue discovered by him, tracing patiently the lost track until he at last succeeded in enlightening the whole question. From these individual studies resulted several interesting monographs, which, taken together, constitute an almost complete history of the stoneware of Flanders and Germany.

Canon Dornbush opens the list with his book on the artistic Guild of the Siegburg potters. The text is grounded chiefly on original materials, sedulously gathered by the author from reliable sources,—the private and official records which lay hidden in the archives of the abbatial town, and the fragments of pottery of all ages, speaking evidences, constantly turning up at a place where once stood so many pot works. It contains a lengthy examination of the eventful annals of the craft of the white stoneware potters, and draws up a suggestive account of the social condition of its members.

The brown ware and its makers have found a reliable and conscientious historian in Vicaire Schmitz. The tale is exhaustively told, and all that concerns the potters of Raeren and their work is faithfully recorded in the articles he published under the title of "Letters upon the Stoneware of Limburg."

The same subject has been treated in a masterly manner by Mr. President Schuermans, in a series of pamphlets and detached papers which have appeared in the periodicals of Belgium. Devoting to the archæological part of the study his deep knowledge of local history, heraldry, old customs and traditions, he succeeded in settling many knotty points, and in re-establishing the true reading of ambiguous inscriptions. The numerous coats of arms, composing the by no means unimportant armory of the brown ware of Raeren, have nearly all been identified and named through his untiring researches.

On the newly discovered centre of Bouffioux, and the Walloon ware, Mr. Van Bastelaer has exhausted, in four consecutive "Reports," the enormous amount of information derived from the written documents and original specimens or fragments he had laboriously brought together.

Mr. W. Müller for Höhr-Grenzhausen, Messrs. Van de Casteel and Van d'Huyse for Namur, and Mr. Stockhauer for Kreussen, and a few others, have contributed valuable sketches towards the store of knowledge which now lies ready to our hand. When we have added to the list of these works the mention of a host of illustrated

catalogues of sales published in Germany, all concurring, although in a minor degree, to enlighten this chapter of Ceramic history, so far left in the shade, it will be needless to expatiate any longer upon the important advancement made within the last few years.

The roll of printed evidence has indeed now attained such lengthy proportions, that, for the convenience of the reader anxious to form a speedy judgment on the subject, a compendious summing up has become a real necessity. It was, at any rate, the feeling by which we were actuated when we resolved upon venturing to compile a general history of artistic stoneware. Many are the unasked collaborators whom we have pressed into the service of our cause, and taken along with us as guides or companions during our preliminary journey through the new ground which their fruitful investigations had opened up to the ceramic student, and which was to us, we confess, until then a land thoroughly unknown. With such trusty leaders to assist us on the way, we have grown more and more interested in our pursuit; without them the writing of the present book, which was to be the consequence of such pleasant intercourse, would have been an impossible task. They will excuse us for having helped ourselves so unstintingly out of the unbounded wealth of materials thus placed at our disposal. To lend to the needy should be, in some way, a duty and a pleasure to the wealthy; in this case, besides, his riches are in no way diminished by our borrowing. We shall take great care, as an inadequate acknowledgment of the benefits thus conferred upon us, always to disclose to which authority we are indebted for the fundamental facts upon which we have planned each of our chapters. We could not, however, bind ourselves to fall in with all the premises of the writer, or to follow him always in his argumentation, and we may have in many instances, from proofs adduced, to come to different conclusions. This didactic and speculative part we bring as our own contribution to the completion of the whole scheme, and we acknowledge it to be of very little worth when compared with the bare statement of demonstrative facts. It is not to be expected that in matters of speculation a private opinion should be shared by every one, and we hope that, as far as ours is concerned, it will be taken, as we give it, for what it is worth.

But our debt of gratitude does not stop at the writers whose works we have put under contribution: it is a pleasant duty to record here the feelings of gratitude we entertain towards such connoisseurs, curators of national museums and private collectors, who have extended to us their most valued assistance, not only in allowing us to study freely the specimens under their care or in their possession, and giving us the benefit of their own experience, but also by causing certain parts of their treasures to be photographed for the special purpose of being reproduced in this book.

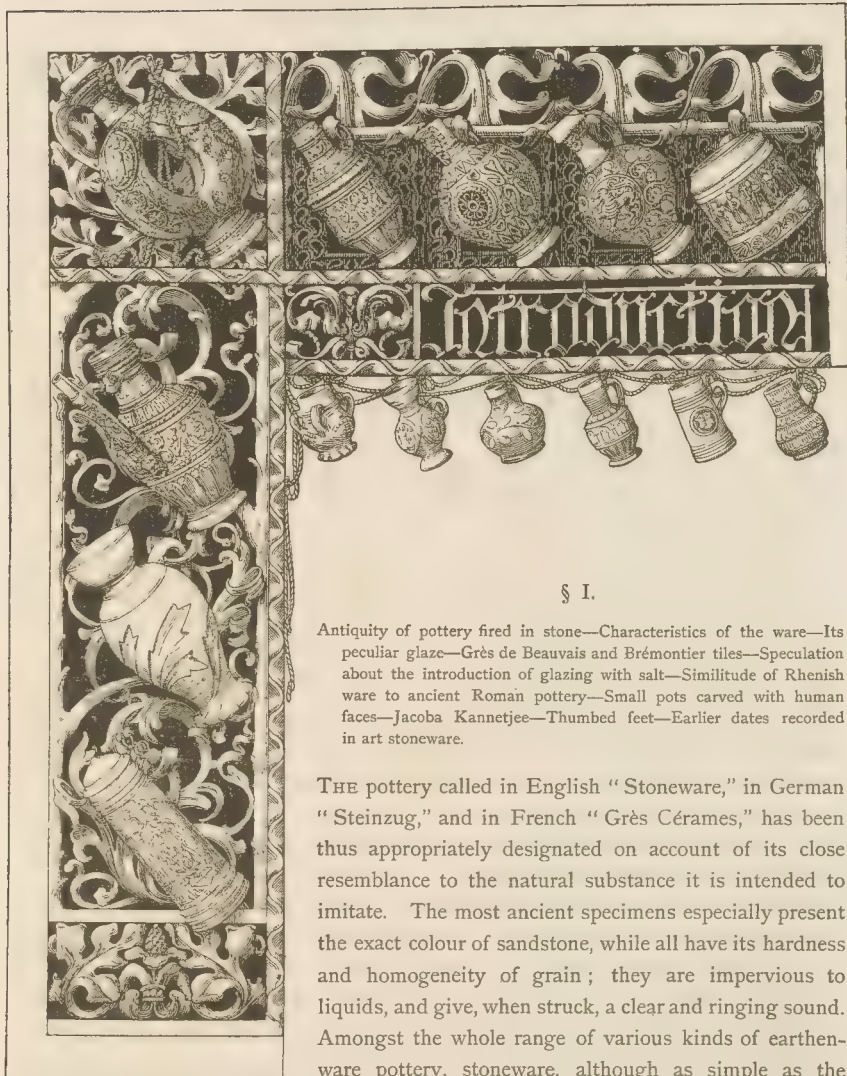
We cannot sufficiently express the sincere recognition of all we owe to the courtesy and liberality of so many learned and accomplished connoisseurs. We must name amongst others: Mr. A. W. Franks, F.R.S., of the British Museum; Mr. T. Armstrong, of the South Kensington Museum; Mr. A. Darcel, Curator of the Musée de Cluny; Mr. H. Schuermans, first President of the Court of Appeal of Liège; Baron A. Oppenheim; Burgomaster Thewalt, of Cologne; Mr. A. Pabst, Director of the Kunst und Gewerbe Museum of the same town; Ritter A. Von Lana, of Prague; Dr. A. Figdor, of Vienna; Dr. Essenwein, Director of the Germanische Museum at Nuremberg, and many others, who will forgive us if we cannot mention them all, but whom we include in our collective thanks.



INTRODUCTION.

GENERALITIES CONCERNING STONEWARE.

- § I. A glance at the History of Pottery fired "in Stone" in various countries before the sixteenth century.
- § II. Technics.
- § III. Potters, Artists, Merchants.
- § IV. Marks.
- § V. Localities of Manufacture.



§ I.

Antiquity of pottery fired in stone—Characteristics of the ware—Its peculiar glaze—Grès de Beauvais and Brémontier tiles—Speculation about the introduction of glazing with salt—Similitude of Rhenish ware to ancient Roman pottery—Small pots carved with human faces—Jacoba Kannetjee—Thumbled feet—Earlier dates recorded in art stoneware.

THE pottery called in English "Stoneware," in German "Steinzeug," and in French "Grès Cérames," has been thus appropriately designated on account of its close resemblance to the natural substance it is intended to imitate. The most ancient specimens especially present the exact colour of sandstone, while all have its hardness and homogeneity of grain; they are impervious to liquids, and give, when struck, a clear and ringing sound. Amongst the whole range of various kinds of earthenware pottery, stoneware, although as simple as the simplest of all in its constituent materials, ranks as one

of the most perfect, from the technical point of view. It embodies all the practical requirements we expect from an earthenware vessel. With this exception, that it lacks translucidity, its chemical constitution is precisely the same as that of the hard porcelain,

and, as Brongniart observes, in the case of certain white bodies of stoneware which allow the light to transpire the thin parts, it is difficult to distinguish scientifically the one from the other.

It would be idle to look back into the past in order to ascertain at what remote period the first appearance of a pottery can be found to which the name of stoneware may be fitly applied. We may conceive that the hardness and imperviousness which vessels made of clay acquire in various degrees in passing through the fire must always have been considered as their most essential qualities. Consequently, to obtain these two qualities in a high degree must have been the constant preoccupation of the potter, as soon as efforts were made to improve upon the first and simple practices of the primitive handicraft. Experience and observation were not long in showing him that this could be realized by finding a sufficiently resisting sort of clay and submitting it to a very high degree of firing. He had not far to go in his experiments, since the marl, or plastic clay in its native state, fired in these conditions, supplies a body dense, impervious, sonorous, and, however rudely and imperfectly prepared, already possessing the specific requirements; indeed, if we suppose the addition of a little sand, with the view of preventing its cracking or getting out of shape, he was provided with the precise material for making true and good stoneware; the very same in fact which was, with more or less care brought into its manipulation, in use at the best of times. Therefore, even if we had not abundant proofs, we might safely take it for granted that, wherever pottery had shared in the general advancement of arts and civilization, are to be found many examples of a particular earthenware,—no longer the ordinary terra cotta,—showing a partial vitrification of the mass, and which comes rightly within the category of stoneware pottery. We find it in the Egyptian sepulchres in the shape of vases and small objects of hard and dense clay highly fired. In China and in Japan the most hallowed ceramic relics,—curious vessels to which tradition ascribes a prehistoric antiquity,—are precisely small pots of coarse but well-characterized stoneware. Whether we examine the works left by the Romans, or by the peoples who have succeeded them in the countries where they had once established their domination, we may be sure to meet with occasional examples of pottery made of refractory clay and fired at a sufficiently high temperature to bring them within the same category. In short, whether of Eastern origin or belonging to Europe, whether left unglazed or covered with enamel, the pottery fired under these conditions offers a peculiar density and semi-vitrification of substance, and by these qualities alone specimens of that kind form a group distinctly separate from the common earthenware.

But were we to descant upon the innumerable varieties of early earthen vessels which may be classed together as stoneware, and pass them all under review, we should

not find one to which the suitable method of glazing had yet been applied. They are sometimes, it is true, smeared with some glossy coating of ferruginous or alkaline nature, or thickly covered with a semi-opaque enamel, but in that case the glazing is exactly similar to that employed for all other sorts of pottery.

It was reserved for the German and Flemish stoneware potters of the sixteenth century to effect that crowning transformation. Let us examine some vases of Siegburg and Raeren, and observe how bright, hard, and transparent is the glaze imparted to them by the vaporization of common salt thrown into the oven during the process of firing; this enables us to realize to what integral state of perfection the ware has been brought by this improvement, and we understand that from that period such vases and their congeners stand apart from any other ceramic product otherwise related to them in one point, viz., the semi-vitrification of the mass.

In fact it is this very "salt glaze," so well suited to stoneware, and never employed in any other cases, which makes of the works of the potters of Flanders and Germany and their imitators quite a distinct group in ceramic art. If we adhere to this point we must ignore all previous classification, and eliminate many incomplete varieties heretofore ranged under the same heading, which seem, at first sight, to have their place marked in our study. We shall not admit, for instance, in our well-defined group, the so-called stoneware or "grès" of Beauvais. Although the clay is fired at a very high temperature and may be said to possess the proper characteristic of stoneware, yet it differs essentially from our standard in the aspect and nature of its glazing, which, instead of the thin, vitreous, and colourless coating produced by the salt, is a thick and opaque enamel of a dull blue tint. The name "*Poteries bleues de Savignies*," by which this ware was formerly known, ought not to have been replaced by the one it bears at present,—scarcely more correct, and certainly more liable to create confusion.

The name of "*Grès de Beauvais*" is responsible for the mistakes into which French collectors have fallen, and the errors of description of which French authors have been guilty when they have touched upon the subject of stoneware. As in external appearance the blue pots of Savignies are very far from resembling the generality of vases and jugs then known as "*Grès de Flandres*," they were passed by as common pottery; and German pieces, made for the French market, selected in their stead,—on account of the Royal arms, the fleur-de-lys, and other national emblems they bore,—were pointed out as the probable representatives of the uncertain "*Grès de Beauvais*." Of this no one had for a long time any suspicion, and as the mis-statement continued to be made by one writer after another, it is

necessary to say a few words on the subject of blue pottery "fired in stone," and to describe its distinctive features.

Now that public attention has been aroused, and the respective works of both countries have been carefully studied and compared, confusion between them is no longer possible.

The blue pots of Savignies, as we prefer to call them, have become very rare ;



Fig. 1. "GRÈS DE BEAUVAIS." Coll. Sauvageot. Diam., 17 in.

indeed for many hundreds of Flemish or German stoneware specimens we could only produce one of these. The few pieces which have come down to us show a Gothic taste of decoration which stamps them as belonging to the fifteenth century, or to the beginning of the sixteenth. All are covered with a thick coating of opaque enamel, smoothing and partly hiding the raised design underneath. By its various intensity of tints, blending with each other, this enamel forms a sort of marbling of a soft and subdued blue colour.

The dish (fig. 1) may be taken as a good type of the ware. Our sketch cannot of course convey any idea of the peculiar nature and colour of the glazing, but it will sufficiently exemplify the striking particularities of the style of ornamentation of the "Beauvaisie" ware. The centre is occupied by an escutcheon, surmounted by the name *Ludovicus* in Gothic letters; the arms are those of Louis Villiers de l'Isle Adam, bishop and earl of Beauvais, who died in 1521; we may therefore assume that the dish was made in the first part of the sixteenth century. In the Sauvageot collection, to which it belongs, it was first catalogued among the "Grès de Flandres," it has now been restituted to its legitimate place by the side of the other ancient French pottery.

For the purpose of comparison, Baron A. Oppenheim has added to his magnificent collection, to which we shall have constantly to refer, a fine hunting-bottle of Savignies, bearing the arms of France and thickly coated with pale blue enamel. It stands out so strangely amongst the select examples of German and Flemish stoneware brought there together, all related to one another by many kindred points, that, were we not aware of the object in view, we might ask ourselves why such an incongruous element has been introduced in a whole otherwise so harmonious in all its parts.

Several other French products of the same period are open to the same objection. It applies to the tiles "fired in stone," but merely coated over with a thin, imperfect glaze which were made in Normandy at about the same period and commonly employed for the pavement of private and public buildings. Tiles of this kind decorated the Ango manor house at Diéppe, and some of them may be seen in the town museum and in many other collections; they are said to have been manufactured at Brémontier, near Neuchatel-en-Bray, and parts of the church in the village were, up to a few years ago, still paved with them. An outline design deeply incised constitutes all their decoration; the blue glaze with which they are covered, sinks into the cavities, darkening and accentuating the whole tracery. (Figs. 2—5.)

We shall refrain from giving any more examples of French pottery partially vitrified in the mass, since they are all but imperfect stoneware, not being in any case completed by salt glazing. The process was never properly followed up in France; and if it has, of late years, been carried on for the making ware for sanitary and other practical purposes, we know of but one experimental exception, when it was taken advantage of for the production of vases and objects of artistic interest; we mean the now extinct factory of Ziegler at Voisinlieu, near Beauvais.

THE group or branch of stoneware fabrics which forms the subject of this work is still in want of a distinctive name to embrace those different kinds of pottery richly ornamented with reliefs, differing in some points, but all claiming kindred with

one another by reason of a special varnish common to all, obtained by the evaporation of common salt. To all conversant with ceramics this group is clearly defined; but the fact of its having been at first misnamed has caused so many attempts to provide



Figs. 2--5. TILES FROM THE ANGOT HOUSE, "GRÈS OF BRÉMONTIER."
Diéppe Museum.

a term which would satisfy everybody, that it has become almost a hopeless case ever to settle the generic name under which it should be definitely described. When the early French collectors spoke about "Grès de Flandres," no question was ever

raised as to what sort of ware was thus referred to; so the term, so well agreed upon as to its meaning, was confidently accepted, regardless of the inaccuracy of its derivation. It shared that incorrectness with many terms which have survived the attacks made against them by the purist. We are tempted to say that we regret to see the name of "Grès de Flandres" on the point of disappearing completely, without a good substitute being found or proposed even. The sudden and startling discoveries of the sites of ancient factories once established near the banks of the Rhine have struck it a fatal blow; the infatuation went so far in Germany as to result in a sweeping assertion that stoneware had never been made in Flanders. In vain important centres of manufacture were discovered about the same time at Raeren, at Bouffieux, and other places which were certainly not situated in Germany; this was overlooked and disregarded, and all artistic stoneware decreed to be of German origin. This assertion was brought forth and defended in such an absolute manner, that from that time no one pretending to any knowledge of the subject has dared to continue the use of the term "Grès de Flandres," lest he should be taxed with ignorance.

Yet the name had not been adopted without good cause. What was formerly, in a general acception, called "Flanders," was not confined to the small provinces marked thus upon the maps; it was generally understood to include all that part of northern Europe extending from Belgium to the banks of the Rhine, and known also as "the Low Countries." The district which supplied all the brown ware,—that of Raeren,—was situated in the province of Limbourg, then an appanage of the Duchy of Brabant. It was ruled by Flemish laws and the Flemish tongue was spoken by its inhabitants. But the chief reason for which the term has been adopted must be looked for in the fact that stoneware, being shipped abroad from Flemish ports, the pottery must have been named, in the places where it was imported, after the country it was known to have come from.

The name occurs as early as the sixteenth century, in a document quoted by Dornbush, referring to a barge laden with "Flemish stone pots," and which happened to have been wrecked and stranded in the Rhine at a short distance from Cologne. This would imply that, in Germany, the production was not equal to the demand, and that the trade was partly supplied by the factories of Flanders, whose goods were duly distinguished from those of local manufacture.

We have said enough to prove that the term, however condemned it may be in our days, was by no means a new one, and that it was not chosen without grounds; yet to all this must be added the recollection of the circumstances under which it was revived. When public attention was directed anew towards ancient stoneware, it was in Flanders that good specimens turned up in greater quantities, and it was also in the

Flemish towns that the amateurs of other countries had the opportunity of admiring them for the first time in the local collections, where they were preserved as undoubted examples of national art.

At the present day the obloquy of a few dissidents has proved sufficient to throw an appellation once firmly established into discredit, and no individual counter-effort could again bring into fashion the good old term "*Grès de Flandres*," even in these cases where it would apply most appropriately.

IT is understood that we must consider as imperfect, from our own point of view, all stoneware made before the introduction of glazing with salt. After the partially vitrified body fired "in stone" had received the complement of this peculiar glaze, and from that time only, this pottery cannot any longer be assimilated to terra cotta, and forms a special class in ceramics.

The method of vesting earthen pots with a hard and transparent coating, obtained by the evaporation of common salt at a high temperature, seems to have been practised at a comparatively recent period, and no instances of an equivalent process are to be found before the sixteenth century, while we find traces of most of the glazes presently in use in very remote antiquity. It has been said that the surface of the Etruscan and Greek vases was made glossy by the action of soda contained in the seaweeds thrown into the kiln during the firing; but these vases are only covered with a thin and tender film, more of the nature of a varnish than a glaze. On the Roman pottery, called improperly Samian ware, the glaze is so thin and so equally spread, that such a result could hardly have been obtained in any other way than by the evaporation of alkalis; but common salt could not have been employed, because the degree of heat required for salt glazing would destroy the bright tint of the red clay. Besides, the interiors of some vessels show the glaze running down in thick drops, as though a superabundance of the substance had been laid on, and this leaves us in doubt as to whether the ware was at all glazed by evaporation. We cannot therefore look into antique civilizations for the practice of this singular mode of glazing earthen vessels, but must assume that it was introduced at a much later date, and,—in the absence of positive evidence to the contrary,—accept it at least as a probability.

All that we know tends to demonstrate that the salt glazing originated in the very places where its use was afterwards prosecuted with so much success; it could not have been introduced from another country where the invention left no trace and have spread suddenly, and appear almost at the same period in all the principal centres of Flanders and Germany, however remote from each other. This period can be

approximately fixed to the first years of the sixteenth century, for before that time we meet with no stoneware vessel covered with a saline glaze. If the surface of some coarse brown pots of anterior date presents a glossy appearance, this was obtained by their being thickly coated, before firing, with the ferruginous deposit found in brooks running through lodes of iron ore, which forms a dark-coloured sort of glazing, of great hardness, still in use in some parts for the commonest description of stoneware.

While we are rambling in the field of supposition, we may ask ourselves whether the well-known quotation about a certain potter of Schlestadt, who died in 1283, and "*primus in Alsatia vitro vasa fictilia vestiebat*," might not have reference to the discovery of glazing with salt. The question has never been raised before, as these lines were always understood to apply to the ordinary glaze or enamel used for the pottery of the period, and we do not pretend that much importance can be attached to it. We may however incidently observe that vases of earthenware had been glazed and enamelled with lead, tin, or other suitable materials, long before the thirteenth century, and that therefore, at the above-quoted date, a man could scarcely have taken credit for having practised that method for the first time; while the other, in every respect a new departure, was a real innovation, worthy of being recorded to the memory of its discoverer. Although what we believe to be the earliest specimens of glazed stoneware are not quite so ancient, the process may have been discovered as far back as the thirteenth century, and, practised in secrecy, have lingered for a century in some small pot works of the Rhine before being generally adopted.

In the two most important centres of manufacture it does not immediately assume an equal importance. On the Raeren pots we see it employed from the first, and in all cases to complete the ware, which is never left unglazed; at Siegburg, on the contrary, it seems to have been introduced almost reluctantly, and only when the handicraft had attained its highest point in all other branches; indeed, even at that moment, the best pieces are purposely left dry and without any vitreous covering; it would be rash however to infer from this that to the potters of the former place belongs the priority, if not of the invention, at any rate of the glazing of the ware by means of the evaporation of common salt.

One might think that the notion of employing such a material for that purpose could not have arisen in places situated so far away from the sea shores, and where salt would be comparatively costly and difficult to obtain; but the facilities of communication afforded by the navigation of the Rhine disposes at once of this objection. Moreover all the large pot works of Flanders and Germany obtained an abundant and cheap supply of salt from the mines of Unna in Westphalia. When sea salt was used, tradition tells us that it was the red salt, then common in the trade, in which the

Newfoundland cod-fish had been preserved and which was considered superior to all others in quality.

To what unexpected misadventure or chance observation this discovery is due becomes almost impossible to imagine. Two centuries ago, after the Staffordshire potters had extensively adopted the method, introduced by the German Elers, of glazing their stoneware with salt, to anticipate any question as to its real origin an anecdote was put in circulation which satisfied the curiosity of any credulous inquirer, and which, in spite of its glaring improbability, has been reproduced since in all histories of English pottery.

It was said that in 1680 the servant of a certain Palmer, master potter of Bucknall, near Hanley, left an earthen pot full of concentrated brine boiling on a large fire; on returning a few hours afterwards, she found that the liquid by overflowing had run over the sides of the pot and covered it with a hard and shining glaze. She called the attention of her master to this curious accident, and in that way salt glazing was discovered. But as it is an utter impossibility that the saline vapours could combine with the silica of the clay, so as to form the transparent glaze, anywhere but in a closed oven heated to a very high temperature, and as this could not have happened to a pot heated in the open air, the tale must be relegated to the ranks of those many popular legends which dispose of the origin of every ceramic discovery unaccounted for by history.

With respect to the stoneware of Flanders and Germany, we are not even put to the trouble of questioning the veracity of any such imaginative records; tradition and written documents alike are silent as to its invention. Either no value was attached to the new process, or it was practised in secrecy. In which latter case the secret was certainly not kept long, for towards the beginning of the sixteenth century, almost year for year, and in divers places, we see the potters of the Rhine as well as those of Limbourg employing it with great success. Having no intimation that glazing with salt had previously been in use in other countries, we are assuredly warranted in believing that the process had its birthplace in these regions, and also that its first application was followed at no distant date by its general adoption; this however remains within the range of plausible deduction, and material proofs are still wanting to establish it as an absolute fact. The tales we are trying to unfold in these pages must perforce be short of their introductory chapter—that chapter which no one has yet attempted to write: "When and where, for the first time, was the hard pottery fired in stone glazed over with saline evaporations?"—without which no history of stoneware can be considered as complete and definitive.

If we now bring our observations to bear upon the style and fashioning of the

ware itself, we shall find that in make and decoration stoneware is closely related to the pottery made long before in the land. We cannot but be struck with the likeness which the sigillated ornamentation of the red pottery of Rheinzabern, and other Roman stations of the Rhine, bear to the designs impressed or stamped on the stoneware vases of the sixteenth century. The forms of certain antique vessels made in the same places afford also interesting points for comparison.

It remains to be ascertained whether this seeming relationship is a mere freak of art, sometimes repeating itself without any conceivable cause, or whether, as we are prompted to believe, traditional handiwork uninterruptedly prosecuted in obscure and debased pot works, has from hand to hand descended from the ancient Roman potters to their successors of the Mediæval and Renaissance times. That a certain connection exists between the two extreme periods of pot-making on the banks of the Rhine might be made manifest by giving a few examples, but this would scarcely come within the



Fig. 6. ROMAN TERRA COTTA.
Trèves Museum.



Fig. 7. MEDIÆVAL EARTHENWARE.
Munich Museum.

limits of our plan, and we must be content with pointing out striking similitude, which is easily recognized by comparing original works.

In one common type, however, we can follow an unbroken descent. During these centuries of stagnation, in which the potter's art remained stationary, a peculiar vase of small dimension continued to be made everywhere almost without variation. It is characterized by an uncouth human face, coarsely incised with the point of a knife on the front of the piece. At first the general form affects the oval of a head, later on it is slightly modified, and is garnished with two or three handles; under this last shape it was still produced after the stoneware pottery had reached its highest development. A few sketches will show this curious vase in examples taken from periods wide apart. Fig. 6 represents one of these discovered at Trèves, and which belongs to the times of the Roman occupation. The museum of Ulm has one of great beauty for size and finish, the prototype of all others. In the Munich museum can be seen a specimen reproduced in fig. 7. It is one of a series found in a vaulted room in a church of the

town where, in mediæval ages, it was customary to bring small pots full of corn as votive offerings. The last figure is from an example dug up at Raeren, where they are discovered in great numbers in the deepest trenches. On the sites of nearly all the ancient factories—at Frecken, at Bouffioux, and other places—we never fail to see the same type turning up in the excavations. This cannot result from accident: and we think it not impossible to trace the filiation.

Not long ago one could still meet in some provinces of Germany erratic bands of brick-makers who still preserved the customs handed down from generation to generation. Half gypsies, half artisans, they were constantly moving from place to place, plying their temporary trade in any locality where a rising and prosperous

population offered fair prospects of employment. As soon as they had found a suitable bed of clay in the neighbourhood they put up their primitive kilns, and made bricks and tiles until, the demand ceasing, their services were no longer required; then the camp was raised and they betook themselves elsewhere. In this manner was avoided the heavy expense incurred by carrying building materials from a distance. A few amongst these rough labourers, more dexterous than their fellows, knew how to fashion sundry objects of fancy, such as pots of strange shapes, with quaintly disposed handles, grotesque figures, etc., the models of which were transmitted from father to son. It



Fig. 8. RAEREN STONWARE.
Trèves Museum.

may well be that the small vases ornamented with the human face was one of the time-honoured patterns made by the nomad brick-makers as a recreation during the intervals of hard work, and who thus left in many places traces of their sojourn. Sometimes, where they found a vein of clay of exceptionally good quality, they settled more permanently, making earthen pots, for which there were good markets not far from the spot. From among these rough toilers of the clay were probably recruited the first hands required by the sudden development of the factories of stoneware, and the archaic and ubiquitous little vase with the human face seems to indicate that the men did not give up their old traditions on entering on a more settled life.

The way in which these primitive pieces are fashioned connects them, perhaps by mere chance, with the finest jugs of Raeren make. The body, spheric or oval, is formed of two distinct halves, worked out by hand separately, and stuck together in the middle with diluted clay; the bottom part spreading into a rudimentary foot thumbled all round,

and the top opening into a wide and shapeless mouth. Building up jugs and vases by means of separate parts, fitted and stuck together where joined, is, curiously enough, the distinctive feature of Raeren workmanship; and, as can be ascertained by comparing the brown vases of Flemish origin, the most happy profiles are those contrived to that end.

In the Limbourg factories the turner avoided mounting a form in one piece, so that he should have to close it on the wheel, as was customary at Siegburg. In this last-named place one of the most typical as well as most ancient models, the spindle or balustre jug, never shows any joint in the middle, but has its body completed by the hand of the thrower. If anything links it to the small vases concerning which we have just spoken, it is the thumbing of the foot, common to many other types.

An oft-repeated legend attributes to Jacqueline de Bavière, the Flemish Countess of Hainault, the making of the most ancient jugs of stoneware. While a prisoner in the castle of Teylingen, between 1433 and 1436, it is said that she liked to occupy the enforced leisure of her captivity by forming with her own hands and firing—probably with the assistance of some practical potter—earthen pots, destined to be thrown away in the moat of the fortress as lasting witnesses of her unjust sequestration. In certain tall jugs of whitish clay, very dense and sonorous in substance, without glaze or ornamentation of any kind, one pretends to find the very work of the fair countess's hands; they have been long known in Holland under the name of *Jacoba Kannetjees*.

A well-known author who has committed many curious blunders in his over-zealousness to discover ceramic rarities, and who shows himself endowed with a lively imagination somewhat dangerous when dealing with dates and facts, affirms that he has seen specimens bearing the date 1424 (?), and the impressed mark "*Teylingen*." As this author is often quoted by unsuspicious writers, whose confidence has here, as in many other cases, been imposed upon, we think it advisable to put others on their guard against such mis-statements. No one has ever seen a genuine piece dated or marked, and moreover the legend of the Countess Jacqueline is in our days somewhat discredited.

By their form, as well as by the quality of the white clay of which they are made, these jugs seem to bear close relationship to the earliest products of the Siegburg potters. There is good evidence of vessels of the same type having been made in Holland; at Heterwoork heaps of fragments, indicating, it is said, the site of a pot works, were lately found, but in ignorance of their precise date it is impossible to determine whether priority should be given to Dutch or to German ware.

The cavities and bosses that the impression of the workman's thumb has left round the foot of certain pieces are regarded, with a few exceptions, as an indication

of their antiquity. A few words about this singular practice will not perhaps be found uninteresting.

It was a remnant of the simple methods which sufficed for the primitive potter. When a piece had been fashioned on the wheel, no care was taken to cut it off neatly from the board to which it adhered; it was simply snatched off, the foot being thereby thrown very much out of shape. The piece had then to be set upright upon a smooth and horizontal surface, sprinkled with a little sand, and with well-calculated pressure, the distorted foot was made to resume its proper shape. When improved fashions were introduced in manufacture, a way was soon found to cut off the work from the table of the wheel by means of a copper wire. The concentric traces of that cutting through the clay may be noticed under the feet of most of the brown stoneware pieces, particularly those of Frecken, where collectors look upon them as a certificate of origin. At Siegburg, faithful almost to the last to time-honoured fashions, the potters were very slow in abandoning the thumbing of the feet; they seem always to have considered the rough waving thus obtained as a very suitable and appropriate means of ornamentation. The first large vases of Raeren, on the contrary, never show any trace of this practice, and the bases, like the tops, are elegantly profiled with neat mouldings.

As a rule, specimens, either roughly fashioned by hand or made on the wheel, but without any ornamental adjunction obtained from a mould, may be taken as representing in German stoneware the oldest period of manufacture. It must however be remembered that a vast amount of cheap utensils of coarse make, and devoid of all elegance of shape or ornamentation, must have been produced concurrently with the handsomest vases, at any rate in pot works of the lowest class, if not in those in which the richest articles were turned out. External appearance consequently cannot be safely depended upon to settle the probable age of a piece.

The most reliable information as to what kind of ware belongs to the earliest times is to be found in the results of systematically-conducted excavations. Through that means much has come to our knowledge which the study of specimens and documents would never have revealed. The superimposed strata of "débris" evidence the various styles as they prevailed successively in each locality. Unfortunately, dated specimens do not appear until the middle of the sixteenth century, and as the spade goes deeper into the trenches the less there is to tell us how many hundred years have passed away since the first heaps of broken pottery were thrown on the spot.

We gather from old records that at the end of the fourteenth century pot-making was already thriving at Siegburg, where nothing but stoneware has ever been made. But at such an early date, none but very coarse hard pottery could have been

produced, such as is represented by the oldest discovered fragments. Between these shapeless pots, unglazed, and without any attempt at ornamentation—showing so little impress of taste or originality that their innumerable repetitions seem to have neither age nor country—and the elegantly designed, delicately worked vases which were to succeed them, there is a distance which may perhaps cover several centuries.

New wants foster the growth of new industries; and the first efforts towards the improvement of stoneware seem to coincide with the increased demand for beer-drinking vessels.

Towards the beginning of the sixteenth century the coarse malt liquor drunk by the lower classes was transformed into a much improved beverage by the addition of a new ingredient—hops, and, as ale, became of general use in all ranks of society. An old English saying reminds us, that "The reformation and hops in beer came in at the same time." Jugs and canettes of neat stoneware were not long in gaining the preference for beer drinking over tankards of metal, goblets of glass, or pitchers of common earthenware, and in Germany at least soon supplanted them altogether. This gives good grounds for fixing the manufacture of the earliest pieces of the newly-improved ware to the second half of the sixteenth century.

If we have to proceed by conjecture, it is because no dated example has ever been discovered which was not of a comparatively late period, and had not been preceded, according to all probability, by many years of well-settled manufacture. At Siegburg, for instance, by far the oldest established centre, we do not find any inscribed date before the second half of the sixteenth century. The brown ware of Raeren supplies us with the earliest millesim recorded on a vase—viz., the date 1539,—we read it on a fragment covered with fine brown glaze, in the possession of Mr. Hetjens, of Aix-la-Chapelle, neatly embossed in well-formed figures. This is by so many years earlier than any other known reliable evidence, that we might be tempted to question its accuracy, were it not that the fragment has been dug up on the spot by the owner himself. We are told that a brown canette, once in the Spitzer collection, also bore the same date.

The fact is, we have often to beware of otherwise plausible vouchers, which, notwithstanding their undoubted authenticity, would be most misleading if accepted without reservation. Setting aside the numerous cases where, in a partly obliterated inscription, it is possible to mistake one figure for another, we shall take as our example a grey and blue vase, of Raeren make, now in the Cologne Kunstgewerbe Museum, bearing the unmistakable date 1500. (Fig. 9.) The figures are so large and so sharply raised, that any mis-reading is out of the question; such, for instance, that which would be caused by the disappearance of the lower stroke to the first nought, making the date 1590;

the eye cannot however detect any traces of this part having been rubbed off. Yet in that case only would the inscription tally with the style of the decoration of the vase, which is that of the end of the sixteenth century. If in the year 1500 stoneware was at all made at Raeren, it could not possibly bear the same character as that which distinguishes the work of nearly one hundred years later, or be heightened with bright cobalt blue, an innovation not then introduced. In all such instances an inscribed date

stands no longer as an information, but rather as a puzzle, an inexplicable inadvertence, or piece of whimsicality on the part of the maker. Taking it for granted that the arms emblazoned in the medallion are—in a somewhat incorrect form—those of the royal house of Bavaria, they would refer to an important personage, Prince Ernest of Bavaria, who had already caused some jugs stamped with his arms to be made at Raeren in 1581, when he was Bishop of Liege, that is to say, before he became Archbishop of Cologne. It may be that this arbitrary date may have had some reference to past events of importance, either for the bishop, or perhaps simply for the potter, and the purpose for which it was recorded may well now escape comprehension. All we know for certain is that the vase belongs to the last part of the sixteenth century, and not to the beginning, and that the



Fig. 9. FROM A RAEREN JUG.
Kunstgewerbe Museum, Cologne.

inscription has no chronological value in the history of Flemish stoneware. We may therefore accept Mr. Hetjen's fragment as bearing the earliest date we can ever expect to read on a brown glazed stone pot; indeed, by computing the amount of information we have now gathered together, it would not be possible to place much farther back than the year 1539 the making of the beer vessels, skilfully carved and richly glazed, which form the largest and worthiest part of the stock of artistic stoneware of Flanders and Germany; a group we have tried to isolate from other kinds of pottery equally fired at a very high temperature, and to which we have devoted these pages.

§ II. TECHNICS.

Stoneware bodies—Throwing and turning of the ware—The peculiar wheel used by the thrower—Mould-cutting—The ovens and the building of the vaults—The firing—Brown or grey colour, and how it was obtained—Painted stoneware.

THE second section of this rambling preamble, in which our object is to bring together the generalities applicable to stoneware, without distinction of class, will treat upon certain points of manufacture indispensable to be known before entering upon the study of the fabrics of each distinct centre. Ways and means differ essentially from those connected with the making of ordinary earthenware, and we shall have a few words to say with regard to the clays employed; the special methods used for making and decorating the ware; the ovens in which it was fired; and, lastly, its peculiar glazing.

The body of all stoneware consists simply of plastic clay or—as it is also called—marl, well manipulated by blundging and beating, with which a small quantity of sand has been incorporated. The selection of the clay was, for the old potter, of paramount importance; all the beds differing in quality, no clay was accepted but that which, after careful experiment, had been found the easiest to work out and the least liable to accident in the firing.

It is in the alluvial formation, that is to say, the superstrata, that marl is found: often it lies quite on the surface of the soil; in other places it is only met with at a depth of two or three hundred feet. In the valley of the Meuse, and along the banks of the Rhine, the beds of white plastic clay are not only inexhaustible, but lie close to the surface, and to these favourable circumstances is due the establishment of so many factories in these districts. For the making of the cheapest pots, dark grey or brown in colour, the commonest sorts of marl were thought sufficiently good to be used in their natural state; indeed they scarcely took the trouble to clean them from gravel and other foreign particles. But the fine white body was obtained only by complicated mixtures of various kinds of clays, knowingly combined, and manipulated with special care. The extreme plasticity of the compound rendered it liable to crack or split, a fault which was remedied by the addition of a little sand, or ground biscuit. When the clay had been diluted, properly mixed, and the surplus water allowed to evaporate in large covered troughs, it was ready for use, and was brought, in small lumps, to the workshop to be fashioned by the thrower. Common jugs and rich vases were all thrown on the wheel, except in later times, when fancy forms were occasionally modelled by hand.

In the stoneware factories, where old methods had long prevailed, it is only recently that the peculiar and primitive machine used by the thrower has been replaced by a more modern appliance. It was a light and open wheel, of large diameter, ingeniously suspended, and revolving horizontally on an iron pivot. The workman set it in motion by means of a stick, and the impetus thus imparted to the disc lasted long enough to allow him to fashion the piece, without having to give a fresh impulsions. After the first operation of throwing the plain shape had been accomplished, the articles received more or less finish by the addition of mouldings neatly profiled by the turner, not from a settled design, but according to his own passing fancy. Cylindrical or circular forms were rarely departed from. Even the bottles with flattened sides, the favourite shape usually reserved for the best works, were formed with two shallow basins, the rims of which were joined together with diluted clay, and completed with neck and foot; all these parts having been made separately on the wheel. The closed moulds, such as we use in our own time, and which give at a single operation the whole piece and all its raised decoration, seem to have been unknown, or at any rate never used.

None but open moulds, or, more correctly, dies or matrixes, served to obtain the subjects in relief applied on the best class of work. Impressed ornaments were produced by means of small seals, or punches. These matrixes were sunk, like intaglios, in dry clay, hardened afterwards by firing, or, when the finest ornaments were required, into pieces of "Kehlheimer," a white stone of very fine grain, resembling that used in lithography, and sometimes in metal or hard wood. This stone must have been expensive or difficult to procure, judging from the sparing manner in which every small block of it was made use of by the mould-cutter; for nearly all the stamping seals cut in that material which have come under our notice, have a different subject engraved on each of their four faces.

For exceptional works, the reliefs to be applied were pressed directly into these dies, and thus presented a very great sharpness; but when a subject was to be reproduced an unlimited number of times, moulds were duplicated according to the requirements. To that end a good proof was taken and fired; it was then called by opposition the "patrix," and upon it fresh moulds were obtained by impression to any number of replica. This operation was not always performed with the necessary care, the models consequently lost much of their neatness, and the subjects created by one master were soon turned into commonplace items, becoming public property in use in all the factories.

The moulds for the details of ornamentation, whatever might be the shape of the piece they were meant to decorate, were always cut upon a flat field. To allow the proofs pressed in these moulds to be conveniently bent, so as to espouse the curved surface of

a vase or a jug, they had to be made by small sections, and to hide the joints architectural compartments were formed, with arcades and pillars, separating at regular intervals the principal groups of figures or ornaments. It is owing to this disposition that we often find, on inferior stoneware vases, subjects which should be consecutive distributed with obvious heedlessness as to the proper order in which they ought to stand, some parts being omitted, while others are repeated several times. In like manner inscriptions have been applied in a fragmentary state, and appear bereft of all conceivable meaning, a few isolated words alone remaining of the original sentence.

Some rare examples are met with of a mould having been taken from some relief work executed by silversmiths or metal-chasers, but we notice that in such cases the style of the piece thus adorned with borrowed adjunctions loses much of the habitual character of stoneware decoration.

As a rule, we never find on vases belonging to the best period any instance of a decoration improvised on the clay by the hand of the modeller. The "formschneider's" business was confined to the cutting of the moulds, and he did not, as it appears, interfere with the actual making of the ware.

The ovens, the ruins of which have been brought to light by the excavations during the last few years, were of a very peculiar construction. As a result of the high degree of heat necessary for the firing, the vault expanded to a great extent, cracked in all its length, and had constantly to be repaired. A curious plan was devised to obviate these casualties. On the top of each side wall was raised a pile of conical pots, fitting into each other; the height was calculated so that, by bending the two opposite piles, they met in the middle, forming over the oven a surbased arch. This operation was repeated, arch after arch being produced, until the whole superficies was covered. As the building progressed, the whole was made fast by the interstices being cemented with fire-clay. It is easy to understand the great advantage offered by this disposition, as it allowed the vault to resume its former standing when, after the expansion which had taken place during the firing, the mass subsided again into its former proportions. A few handfuls of clay then sufficed to put it in order.

It is a fact worth remembering, that the older a specimen, the harder it is in paste; a rule from which we can establish that, at the outset, the semi-vitrified state of the ware was considered its paramount quality. This is clearly evinced by the jugs known as *Jacoba Kannetje*, and the oldest unglazed pots discovered at *Siegburg*. At *Raeren*, although the hardness and density of the productions never equalled in degree that of the *Rheinish* ware of the earliest period, a good standard of hardness was however maintained to the end.

The firing of an oven of small dimensions lasted five or six days. Nothing but light wood was used, and the oven was brought to almost the highest degree of heat that can be produced under the conditions; it may be estimated at from 100 to 120 degrees of Wedgwood's pyrometer. Gradually, and through experimenting upon more fusible sorts of clay, the temperature was lowered, in order to diminish the percentage of losses and bring down the cost of production. We observe that in the stoneware of more recent date the partial vitrification is much less advanced than in the early specimens just referred to; a natural consequence of the modification brought about in the method of conducting the firing.

A single operation was required to fire the ware and fix the glaze upon it. When the heat reached its climax, the loading of the oven-mouths with fuel was momentarily suspended, and salt was thrown into the incandescent furnace through holes practised for that purpose in the top of the vault. The fumes of the salt, combining with the alkali of the clay, covered the ware contained in the oven with a coating of hard, thin, transparent glaze. In approaching the blazing fire-mouths the heat was so intense that the men had to wrap themselves in wet cloths from head to foot. After the salting had taken place, in order to drive away any smoke or injurious vapours, a sharp and brief fire was again raised, and it is at that moment, it is said, that was developed the fine brown colour, so remarkable on the stoneware. Its success was considered to be due to the practice of a cunning trick, known only to experienced firemen. The exact cause of this colouring has never been satisfactorily explained. Goods fired in an oven, and under exactly the same conditions, are not stained with it in an equal proportion; we find it developed on certain parts and not on others; on the outside of a vessel, for instance, and not on the inside. We can only observe that the brown colour seems to increase under the influence of the flames, loaded with wood ashes, which act on the oxide of iron contained in the clay, in all the parts of the oven where they have been allowed to circulate. In every case, when two pieces have stood in close proximity, the parts protected from the direct contact of the flame remain colourless.

Tradition has kept the recipe employed in the pot works of Bouffieux; the method consisted there in abstaining from throwing in more than one load of salt, in giving a final and sharp stroke of firing, and taking care afterwards to close hermetically every aperture. Elsewhere it was recommended, as a good means of obtaining a fine brown tint, to throw on the fire, with the last load of wood, a few shovelfuls of birch bark well impregnated with brine; while some potters were wont to dip the ware in ground iron ore in suspension in water, or else to rub it with black lead. This last and most effective process was, we think, very widely adopted, wherever the clay

was not sufficiently ferruginous to develop a natural colour; on grey pieces, partially stained with a well-defined zone of brown, we can plainly see that it has been obtained in this way. On some examples of dark ware we observe a superficial coating which, of a fusible nature, has turned black and metallic in appearance, and blurred out all the raised detail. On other instances, the outer surface is covered with minute brown spots, caused by the glaze segregating into clots on the light ground of the clay. All these various effects are signs that artificial colouring had been practised.

Many authors maintain the incorrect opinion that the stoneware owed its rich bronze hue merely to the high firing it underwent. This could not be so, a look at some of the oldest specimens, which, although most highly fired, never exhibit the brown colour, will convince us. The white tint and the grey colour, always preferred as a ground for the ware enhanced with blue and purple enamels, resulted from a different manner of conducting the firing. Instead of closing tightly all the oven-mouths to rarify the air at the final moment, after having given an abundant salting, all the blaze and embers were quickly removed from the fireplaces, and aperture left full open to allow a free circulation of the air through the oven. We must remark about the blue and purple enamels,—which alone could stand the temperature required for glazing,—that they were not painted on, but were merely a staining applied with a rag soaked in the colour. These enamels ran down so freely during the salting, that any work of the brush would have been hopelessly destroyed.

The painter, in connection with stoneware, only appears in later times, with the new processes adopted in the Kreussen workshops. But the painted decoration is practised only after the firing of the piece has been completed, and is fixed on the surface by the moderate heat of a small kiln; it does not therefore differ from the usual method of enamel painting on glass or porcelain, and it can hardly be considered as a legitimate process of stoneware decoration. We shall not extend further our short account of the peculiarities connected with the making of stoneware, being unwilling to embark on a technical treatise; but we must add in concluding, that in the present century, when all manufacturing processes have undergone complete renovation, those employed by the old potters of Flanders and Germany are still followed with hardly any change in all the places where stoneware is still manufactured.

§ III. POTTERS, ARTISTS, AND MERCHANTS.

The respective part assumed by the practical man and his collaborator, the decorative artist, in works of art pottery.—Comparison between the condition of the potters of Siegburg and those of Raeren—Mould-cutters—Jan Emens, artist and master potter—Of the engravings reproduced on the ware—Eccentricity of some shapes—The merchant—Trade centralized in large towns—Commercial regulations—Armored ware manufactured through the agency of the dealer—Merchants' names stamped on the ware.



WHEN a work of art, even of minor order, proves sufficiently attractive to command our sustained attention, our thoughts are soon and instinctively turned towards the unknown one who may have executed it. Many queries arise in our mind respecting the time, place, and conditions in which the artist may have lived and worked. His very name becomes to us a matter of interest. We long to be able to bring together the whole sum of works left us by the same man, that we may follow him, step by step, the length of his career, and the admiration we feel for his higher achievements will make us look with sympathy even on his feebler attempts.

The research is a complex one when we bring our investigations to bear upon the subject of Art Pottery. However simple an ornamental earthen pot, it is seldom the product of the ingenuity and talent of a single individual. Without taking into account the accumulated experience handed down to their followers by preceding generations, —of which any work we are trying to analyze is partly the result,—many hands have assisted in the completion of this single object. The potter's art is eminently a collective one. Two leading characters take, in the conduct of the workmanship, a well-appointed part. An inspiring spirit brings into play, and directs towards the final success, the many agents working conjointly under his guidance; this is the master, the practical man. He must possess the knowledge of the regular and well-tried processes of the craft, and be gifted besides with a searching and inventive mind, always on the alert to improve them by fresh discoveries. By his side works the artist, taking a no less important part in the production, who possessed of an impulsive intellect, and served by a skilful hand, is bound to exert his capacities to bring out of the materials placed at his disposal the most suitable and varied effects. What is exactly the participation taken by each of them in the duplex result of their joint efforts? In many instances this is easily defined, in others our curiosity is at

once put off the scent. Often it happens that the name of the one, either the potter's or the artist's, finds itself completely merged in the name of the other. Fame is loath to share her favour equally between them, and the whole merit is for ever after credited to him who has chanced to be for the moment the most successful of the two.

This is not exactly the case with the art of stoneware. In a general survey of the facts connected with its history we are struck with the differences which distinguish it, on that very point, from the other branches of ceramic art. From the crowd of master potters and modellers known to have effectually contributed to the improvement of that pottery, in their respective localities, no transcendent name comes to the front, condensing in his all-absorbing celebrity the whole of his contemporaries and the credit due to their individual efforts.

To pronounce the noble name of Luca della Robbia, is to bring immediately to memory the long array of enamelled terra cottas treasured up in the churches and palaces of Italy; the mere mention of Palissy recalls a world of French pottery, quaintly designed and richly coloured with variegated glazes; and the whole amount of the productions of the English potters resumes itself, in foreign countries, in the name of the great Wedgwood. But when we come to stoneware potters we miss such shining personalities; we find ourselves in most cases confronted by a guild, grafted upon trade companies of an antiquity often out of record—an arbitrary institution which enshrouds the individuality of all its members under a thick veil.

At Siegburg, for instance, it is a closed community, in which each private member works for the good of all; the professional success that one may achieve—exceptional workmanship or valuable discovery, a new material, an improved method—all turn to the honour of the Guild. Siegburg, with a whole population of potters, has well kept in the old register the list of the most notorious of the masters who held office in the council from the earliest period; but the names on the registers, and such initials as we find impressed on the ware, agree but seldom together. It is only as a rare exception that we can associate with certainty the leading names of the craft with any of the works which came out of their hands. Intermixed with the inscriptions and the relieved ornaments, monograms are found in plenty, but they often happen to be those of the model maker—an outsider whose name is never entered in the transactions of the Guild. This discrepancy leaves entirely to guess-work the task of deciding to whose credit may be brought the making of most of the masterpieces of stoneware.

At Raeren, on the contrary, each master being independent, several of them have taken great care to make themselves known to posterity in a private capacity, but never as leaders of the trade. The progress of art pottery through the course of ages

does not follow, as a rule, the advance of other branches of decorative art. The contents of tumuli and barrows, the only remaining vestiges of the dawning days of civilization, have no other fictile work to show us,—by the side of glass and metal cups, already elegant of form and of skilful workmanship,—than rude and ill-shapen urns, often of unbaked clay. Kneading the mud with his hands into the rude and constantly repeated forms of an unseemly vessel, the same as his fathers have kneaded before him, the potter may remain for centuries tied to the condition of the lowest of labourers. But let one day, through a happy concurrence of circumstances, his imagination at last awake, let his fingers run upon unwonted and graceful profiles, suddenly multiplying and perfecting forms and designs; invention and dextrous handling at once come into play, and the barbarous pitcher, doomed to be broken without regret, is turned, step by step, into an elegant ewer, a graceful vase, admired by all and treasured by its possessor. Then the coarse labourer disappears, and an ingenious and skilful artisan takes his place. If it happens that nature has let the art-mantle fall upon a privileged one amongst these humble artisans, the horizon open to his onward progress is limitless. Through the impulse of his genius a manual trade will soar in the high regions of esthetic beauty; the inspiration of his mind, the touch of his masterly hand, will ennoble the unworthy material. In a Greek amphora we have the loftiest manifestations of man's intuitive sensitiveness to the mysterious canons of purity of line and harmony of proportion. Yet the vase has sprung from an inauspicious source—the crude jar of the primeval tribes living on the soil; a human work indeed, but of such a low order, that it is inferior, as a token of industry, to the performance of many nest-building creatures of the animal world.

Practical improvements must of course keep pace with the rising idealism and artistic intent; much has to be attended to within the range of material requirements. The choice and manipulations of clays and their mixture; the tools employed; the construction of ovens and the methods of firing them;—all have to be carefully studied and constantly altered. At times the manifold cares that fall to the lot of the potter may stand in the way of the development of his skill as an artist, and when he realizes at last that *plastique* must intervene as a crowning factor in the completion of his work, he resolves to summon to his assistance the trained hand of a professional modeller. It is to that combination of talents that we owe many of the stoneware vases of Flanders and Germany.

As soon as the progressive pot-makers of Siegburg and Raeren saw that their productions still remained deficient in these qualities of attraction and pleasantness which art alone can impart to the finest materials, they began to call in their midst a few sculptors used to delicate workmanship, a class of artist already very important in

large towns, where they assisted in making stone, wood, or metal beautiful with rich and clever carvings.

From the first, stoneware was bound to become elaborate and artistic in treatment. The cost of firing alone, and the salt, then a dear material, made it much more expensive to manufacture than ordinary earthenware; to bake properly vases of large dimension, a high fire had to be kept up for five or six days. Even a plain and unadorned piece was consequently an article of some value; to sell it at a remunerative price, and make it fit to suit the taste of the better class of customers for whom it was intended, it became indispensable that the new ware should join to the good quality of an improved material the attraction of interesting and well-finished workmanship.

It fell partly to the share of the "Formschneider" to attain this result and realize these expectations. These extraneous assistants had of course a large part in the direction taken at that moment by the art of the stoneware potter. Yet to the master reverts unquestionably the merit of the general conception, and he is responsible in particular for the tracing of the forms. He made them rise on the wheel under his fingers, following his own fancy, with no other guidance than a few measures taken by the compasses, and varying endlessly the complicated profiles. Then, when the ware had been turned, it was he also who, pressing separately subjects of his choice from amongst the stock of models prepared for that purpose, stuck them on the form so as to embellish and complete it.

To the modeller was left the care of preparing those subjects and their moulds; but he does not seem to have had anything to do with the design of the pieces; we do not know of a single vase conceived as a whole, modelled and moulded in a single operation. So far was it from being so, that the subjects, always fragmentary, appear to have been executed without any settled destination; seldom, to our regret, do they agree in size and proportion with the pieces they adorn. Many of the moulds have been discovered, all of them carved on a flat surface; and it was after the proof had been taken, still wet from the mould, that it was applied by pression to the ground of the vase until it espoused perfectly the curve of the form.

The principal artist engaged as collaborator by the potter was the "Formschneider" or "Cartemaker," a name given to those who carved or engraved the wooden blocks or matrixes used in many industries for stamping leather, paper, wax, horn, or other materials. From the fact that he kept in the pot works the professional name he worked under in connection with other trades, we might infer that he was only incidentally associated with the craft. Many specimens of the workmanship of the formschneider in their various applications are to be seen in the museums of Germany; the most curious amongst them being perhaps those elaborate forms with which the housewives

of the past centuries used to impress on their pastry strange and complicated patterns and subjects. We must apologize for bringing forth such commonplace examples, our reason is that they are common in museums, where no one can have failed to notice them; some are not without interest, and they give an exact notion of the moulds, far more rare to meet with, employed by the potters to press and stamp the relief-work applied to stoneware; indeed many of them have long passed for potters' moulds. Instead of wood, the materials used for carving the latter were either small slabs of dry clay, or of a peculiar sort of tender stone of dense and very fine grain, into which medallions, masks, rosettes, subjects in panels or friezes, were delicately engraved, after the manner of die-sinking.

The number of the leading mould-cutters who devoted their talents to the decoration of stoneware pottery must necessarily have been very limited. There was no comparison to be made between their condition and that of the bulk of the operatives, as is shown by the accounts preserved in the old registers, where we see the cost of the ware and the prices paid to the different classes of men working at the trade.

On an occasion when the Siegburg magistrates had to petition the Duke of Clèves Berg for the renewal of certain privileges, they thought it advisable to propitiate beforehand the favour of the officers of the ducal household by a handsome present of ware, and accordingly ordered some sets of jugs to be embossed with the Duke's arms. The cost of cutting the new moulds necessitated by the commission made the bill sent in by the Guild amount to 180 marks, 10 shillings, a sum quite out of keeping with the insignificant prices asked for the best jugs of current make. Such heavy expenses as these would of course have placed beyond the reach of the common pot-makers the production of many new models in the course of a year. The tariffs were low, and only in the case of an extraordinary commission could they indulge, after paying wages, in any additional expenditure. Moreover the mould-cutter could, in a few weeks, supply a sufficient quantity of subjects to serve an important factory for the production of novelties during a whole year. As to the pot works of the lowest class, they turned out ware principally plain, or adorned with such coarse medallions as the master himself prepared to the best of his abilities.

All this considered, and if we remember that the best period of artistic stoneware does not extend—for Siegburg and Raeren—beyond the course of eighty years at the outside, we may conceive that a very limited number of clever hands sufficed to produce all the models employed by the potters for the decoration of their work. We cannot therefore expect, large as the industry was, to find the names of many regular modellers connected with it.

In the archives of Raeren have been preserved the record of several "Form-

schneiders" and "Cartemakers" who worked for the brown ware, and their names will be found in the chapter devoted to that manufacture. They were more numerous at Siegburg, but there we cannot learn anything in particular about them. They never signed a piece in full, and the written documents are silent as to their names, and the conditions in which they stood relatively to the master.

Notwithstanding the high prices paid for models, the calling of a formschneider was at times a precarious one, his services being only occasionally required; consequently it happened that more than one of them, who had begun in the district as hired assistants, started business on their own account, and became successful master potters. We shall have to tell farther on how Jan Emens, who has been one of the most prominent masters of Raeren, had at first supplied the leading potters of the place with moulds and models, but soon took to producing his graceful inventions at his own risk and for his own profit. Under these conditions he was enabled to turn out more novelties than his competitors. While others were dependent on the costly co-operation of a professional modeller, he could, with his own unassisted talent, constantly renew the stock of subjects required for the decoration of his ware. Had the Raeren potters been at that time constituted into a regular guild, such an enterprise on the part of an outsider would have been impossible; but when Jan Emens undertook to manufacture stoneware as a master, after having worked as an assistant, the trade was still open and free. It was only later on, and just as the industry was entering its period of decline, that it was turned into a close corporation, to which only the sons of the masters could be admitted.

In that busy centre, just placed under the unexpected conditions of an ever-increasing prosperity, where the processes of the handicraft were practised in the light of day, and at a time when experienced hands could already be found in plenty, nothing was easier for other modellers than to attempt what Jan Emens accomplished with such a marked success.

The style of ornamentation of the formschneider does not exactly recommend itself by a strong originality; but since the Italian majolica decorator has never been taken to task for having mostly painted well-known subjects borrowed from contemporary engravings, we think that an equal indulgence may be extended to the modellers who have decorated the ancient stoneware. We cannot help wishing it had been otherwise, yet it must be acknowledged that only on rare occasions do we see them indulge in a subject of their own imagination; as a rule, they contented themselves with more or less distant interpretations of popular woodcuts and engravings.

There was no lack of prints published for the use of industrial artists; numerous are the contemporary sets of ornamental designs engraved for that purpose. The itinerant image-seller took the care of making them known all over Europe. Palissy deplors

in his book, that the best works of Italian and German masters had, in his days, already been vulgarized to such an extent that they could be obtained for next to nothing; he states, among other instances, that in the fairs and markets the beautiful prints of the life of the Virgin by Albert Durer were sold commonly at two farthings apiece.

What we call the small masters of France, Germany, and Flanders, have all been laid under contribution. *Hans Sebald Beham* and *Henry Aldegrever* have furnished to the mould-cutters models for peasant dances and scenes of country life, mythological *cortéges*, and other subjects of figures forming round the vases most suitable friezes. In the "Wappenbucks," namely, that of *Virgilius Solis*, they found the material of their heraldic display. They borrowed amply for their cartouches strapwork, arabesques, flowers, and other ornamental details from the elegant compositions of *Etienne de L'Aulne*, of Orleans; from the patterns for goldsmiths, published in Paris by *Gidion L'Egaré*, and the "Incrustations" designed and engraved by *Balthazar Silvius*; and from the works of *Floris*, *Férome Cock*, *Lidfrinck*, *Vredeman de Wriesse*, *Adrien Collaert*, and many others whose designs they reproduced on stoneware.

Once a copy of "*Reusnerius Emblemata*, Cologne, 1569" passed through the writer's hands, and it bore signs curious enough to lead him to imagine that it was one of the reference books used in the old factories, and that the copy had actually belonged to the same Jan Emens, the potter artist, whom we have just had occasion to mention. It was a small volume, containing rude woodcuts by *Jost Amman* and *Virgilius Solis*, the designs of which have often done duty on the ware. On the binding was inscribed the date 1588, and the book had been interleaved throughout for the convenience of its possessor, who had marked it on the fly-leaf with the initials I. E. S. H. Many other interpretations can of course be suggested, but in a book of that kind, and of such a date, these letters might, we thought, be read as meaning: *Jan Emens, Schneider and Hafner*, or "Jan Emens, Sculptor and Potter."

We are consequently warned against expecting much individuality in the style of the ornamental devices embossed on the stoneware, since they were, as a rule, borrowed from all sources. But we shall find much to make amends for trivial details, and gratify our craving for originality, if we direct our attention to the forms of the vessels. Nay, these latter have often been denounced as overstepping the limits of allowable fantasy.

A purist may certainly gaze disdainfully at the inordinate proportions of some vases and fountains, masterpieces of the Raeren art, criticise the ungainly loftiness of the tapering canettes of Siegburg, and condemn the unprecedented and extravagant combinations of the annular jugs. Still it must be granted that all these peculiar shapes have, at least, the merit of representing the taste and customs of the period to which they belong;

it is clear that they were the normal outgrowth of progress under existing conditions ; a consequence of the teaching imparted to the potter by the works of art with which he was surrounded ; and an exaggerated expression of the ruling fancies of the moment.

Every branch of industrial art develops itself in following a regular course, and the phases it has to traverse occur successively and in the same order. First, none but rudimentary forms, easy to make, handy to use, will be produced, and the practicability of the work will only be considered. These earliest types shall certainly exert a lasting influence on the subsequent productions of the same locality. We may recognize them as having been the basis of all further improvements. For a long time afterwards we shall find these types merely modified by the application, on the outer surface, of decorative embellishments. At last, beauty and richness of ornamentation will take precedence over convenience and utility of form, and, to satisfy that desire for novelty which ever urges us onward, will then stimulate the invention of eccentric and irregular shapes, and we shall see the artist setting his ambition on creating unique specimens which, if deficient from a rational point of view, will at least give credit to his imaginative powers.

This yearning towards relentless change, unfortunately not always an aspiration towards better things, is however a natural feeling with which we have to reckon. The general public, with its supreme exigencies, its constant craving for something new, demands to be interested and amused ; and, in spite of all difficulties, its claims must be satisfied.

Besides, we do not know whether such a feeling is to be altogether condemned. Often in his searches after what is simply New, man meets with what is really Good.

The fragile and inexpensive material out of which an earthen vase is formed suggests a ready substitution when the object gets broken or has ceased to please ; on that account casual experiments in the way of startling novelties are particularly applicable to the work of the potter. It has always been so understood, and on no other art work do we see the transient fashion of the past so strongly accentuated as on the fictile productions of all countries.

To this very sense of novelty and fantasy attached to earthenware vessels was probably due their introduction in the households of the wealthy. This happened as soon as clay pots began to be made in such an improved fashion, and with such an amount of fine handiwork lavished on their vulgar material, that the elegant article could no longer be classed with the crockery used by common people. From that moment, the possession of fresh sets of jugs illustrated with the latest devices, and drinking-cups bearing, as a warrant of their newness, the embossed date of the current year, became a recognized luxury amongst the members of the higher classes ; and on

a well-appointed table such vessels contributed not a little to the amusement of the guests.

In certain old chronicles, where are recorded the descriptions of sumptuous banquets given by princes and celebrated personages, we read that at the end of the repast, as a climax to the revelry, pages and knights, in high humour, broke and flung through the windows all plates, jugs, and drinking vessels which had been used during the feast. Such mad frolics being expected, earthenware utensils had of course to be provided, yet it became the magnificence of the host that they should not be quite valueless articles and a discredit to his table; thus highly ornamented ware was manufactured for public banquets, which was never expected to be used more than once.

We must not, however, be understood to imply that fine pottery was generally intended for the benefit of those whose pleasure it was to hasten the fated end of all pottery. Against these exceptional fits of foolishness we must set the custom prevailing already in every household, where the master had his favourite drinking pot of stoneware, mounted with parcelgilt silver or stamped pewter, according to his condition, reserved for his own use, and which had often been his father's before it descended to him. The selection of the jug had not been made without due consideration, as befits the choosing of a lifelong friend. It had to be of the finest material and of the best make, and the more peculiar and elaborate in decoration it was, the more it suited the fancy of its future owner. To satisfy his most fastidious patrons the potter had to contrive vessels of unique design, the boldness of which was sure to be their highest recommendation in the estimation of those who would have rejected anything easily obtainable by the ordinary purchaser. In that respect the stoneware potter stood at a disadvantage in comparison with the majolica or glazed earthenware makers: these had no difficulty in obtaining, with the bright colours at their disposal, variegated and startling effects; the former was limited to shapes and reliefs as a means of creating fresh attractions for the eye.

So, by the side of a most regular and never-changing production, on special occasions forms were tormented into extravagant profiles, and the formschneider, called upon to supply their complete embellishments, was recommended to choose the most telling subjects he could imagine.

We have said that the time and country to which they belong are most vividly reflected in the masterpieces of stoneware. One can see at a glance that, in his endeavour to attain beauty through excessive richness of detail, the potter was only in accordance with the feeling pervading all German art at that period, and the same dictate which prompted the goldsmith to twist, curl, pierce, and cut the metal into an infinity of acute and intricate foliage and scrolls; the stone-carver to sink, open, and

undercut his complicated traceries, or the writhing folds of the draperies of his contorted figures,—directed also the hand of the mould-cutter, crowding in the smallest space as many details as could be engraved by his sharp chisel.

The manufacture of ornamental stoneware extended, during a hundred and fifty years approximatively, over a large area in Northern Europe, from Flanders to South Germany. In each country the mould-cutter has, as might be expected, adapted his style to the prevailing taste. His handiwork, stiff and formal in Teutonic Rhineland, is free, brilliant, and pompous in Limburg, still fresh from Spanish domination. Latterly, with the growing demand for coloured ware, the part of the mould-cutter falls into insignificance in the factories of Grenzhausen, where geometrical designs, depending for pleasant effects upon the contrast of the blue and purple tints of the grounds replace applied reliefs; until at last moulds and models are almost dispensed with in Bavaria, where the decorative work is confided to the enamel painter. In due place the individual part reverting to the leading artist, in connection with the development of the new industry in each of the centres, will be examined and retraced at length; we shall for the present take leave of both master and modeller to speak of the influence, so far unsuspected, exerted over the whole trade by a third personage, acting often as the mainspring of business—the merchant.

In all places where public records of the doings of the craft have been preserved, we find the merchant urging and controlling the potter, advising him as to the direction he shall engage in at a time when, a change supervening in public taste, he had to replace by new forms and patterns the old stock gone out of fashion. Sequestered in his distant village, the pot-maker heard little of the requirements of the capricious inhabitants of large towns. Confident in the experience of the merchant, who knew best how to meet fresh wants and new fancies, he seldom did otherwise than obey his suggestions. The middleman, a rich and influential tradesman, whose stores were situated sometimes far away in foreign countries, paid regular visits to the manufacturing districts, and settled then with the council of the Guild what sort of ware should be made purposely for him. New models were discussed and tried, and, in some instances, when he wanted to secure the absolute property of a special pattern, he agreed to take as much of it as one or more pot works could produce, on condition that the same article should not be supplied to anyone else. Each merchant had, of course, quite a different class of customers to satisfy, and consequently was wont to ask for special subjects. He brought with him inscriptions, particular devices, badges or coats of arms, which he ordered to be stamped on the pieces he required. To that effect each supplied his own sketches and designs for the guidance of the mould-cutter, who carried them out, often in his own way, and generally without interesting himself much as to the destination of his work. When the

commission had been duly completed and delivered, and after a few years had gone by, those special moulds, discarded for a time, were again taken up and employed as commonplace ornaments for the cheap ware; and this is how it happens that so many heterogeneous elements are now found associated on the same piece—a medley well calculated to discourage the archæologist who should endeavour to explain the incomprehensible conjunction.

Central warehouses were established at Cologne and at Aix-la-Chapelle for the trade with the North. The old merchants—in this acting as those of our days—took the greatest care to conceal from their customers the names of the places where the goods they sold could be obtained first hand; for that reason the stoneware was long known by the name of the town in which the stores were situated—the white as Cologne ware, and the brown or blue as “Grès de Flandres.” Barges laden with the products of the Siegburg factories sailed constantly up and down the Rhine towards the depôts of Mayence, Andernach, and Cologne. From Raeren they were carted away to Aix-la-Chapelle and the chief towns of Flanders, where the retail trade alone was supplied; long trails of heavy waggons left periodically for these destinations, and a large proportion of the population of the village was, it is said, engaged in the traffic.

In the centres where the craft was ruled by official regulations, and where the merchant could only transact business with the councils of the guilds, the statutes contained special provisions introduced in his favour and for the safeguard of his interests. Thus the Siegburg potters had placed themselves under the interdiction of selling any pots, within a very large area of country round the town, to any private party or unrecognized customer, lest it might prove detrimental to the dealers, who monopolized between their hands the wholesale trade. From this direct interference of the merchant with the production, and in consequence of the exceptional kind of commissions they brought to be executed for the foreign market, resulted some anomalies which would otherwise remain unaccountable. For instance, we see jugs made for German families amongst the productions of the Flemish factories, and, amongst those of Rhineland, vessels stamped with the coats of arms belonging to the nobility of Flanders. As one is often prompted to fix the probable origin of a piece from the arms or inscriptions it bears, it is well to point out that often little reliance can be placed on such indications: in the case of a piece whose make offers all the characteristics of Flemish ware, the presence of a German name or escutcheon does not at all, as it is often argued, settle the question of its having been manufactured in Germany.

Such work was often executed at a great distance from the town where it had been ordered. In the stores of the merchant, where could be found samples coming from all the principal factories, the noble customer, asking for a set of drinking vessels stamped

with his arms, was made to select the form, style, and colour he preferred from the patterns submitted to him. His choice might fall either upon a white jug or upon a brown one, and each sort being the speciality of a different country, the dealer had to forward the order to the place where alone it could be executed.

In many remarkable specimens the name of the merchant is seen in full letters in the most prominent place, while the modest initials of the maker hide themselves from our gaze amongst the scrolls and foliages of the decoration. This might, at times, also mislead us as to the authorship of the piece, had we not learned from experience what faith can be placed upon these purposely deceptive indications, of which we shall farther on give several curious examples.

Although the master potter was not altogether, under such circumstances, at liberty to indulge at all times in works of his own fancy, and was generally hampered, in the making of marketable articles, by many arbitrary specifications, he had nevertheless his days of freedom and independence, when he ventured to originate, either an occasional masterpiece displaying the full extent of his abilities, or a new model for reproductions of which he hoped to induce one of the annual visitors to give a large and liberal order.

In the following pages the merchant will reappear more than once, and we shall endeavour to bring out more definitively the part played everywhere in the progress of this industry by this important personage.



Joint Mark of two Merchants trading in Partnership.

§ IV. MARKS.

Initials stamped on the ware and their various significations—An enigmatic mark—Of its adoption from the sixteenth and to the eighteenth century by several branches of the trade—Examples taken from stoneware vessels;—from other art works;—from English and Irish tokens—Speculations to which the mark has given rise—Other graphic signs—Potters' marks—Their rare occurrence on the Siegburg ware—Raeren pieces often inscribed with full names—Marks and names seldom to be seen on the works of the Grenzhausen potters.



MARKS, monograms, and initials abound on the vessels of stoneware. The difficulty of their interpretation has already been hinted at. As soon as we approach the subject, we become aware that they cannot be considered in the same light as those we find on other pottery; and that above all, we must guard against taking them all as potters' marks.

Those we can read with certainty give us to understand that great circumspection must be exercised before we decide on a doubtful case. Two or three initials, which we might expect to stand for a name, may have here quite a different signification and be nothing else than an abbreviated inscription referring to the subject represented on the vase. A few examples are necessary to illustrate their irregular meaning.

On the large vase of the Kensington Museum, where the works of Mercy are represented, each subject is surmounted by two or three capital letters; these are simply the initial letters of the words of the explanatory legend: H. S. stands for *Hungrigen Speisen*, Feed the hungry; D. D. R., *Durstigen dranken*, To give drink to the thirsty; N. K., *Nackten Kleiden*, Clothe the naked, etc.

On some pints bearing the arms of the town of Dantzig, the escutcheon is flanked by the two letters *W. D.*, which simply mean *Wapen (von) Dantzig*,—the Dantzig arms.

The personages for whom the piece was made are often designated upon it by their initials, and the interpretation of these is greatly facilitated by the coat of arms which they accompany. Thus the inscription E. V. E. A., on the bottle given elsewhere (fig. 123), where the armorial bearings of Eynatten are also emblazoned, can easily be read as "*Herman von Eynatten, Abbot*." In other instances, when such letters are not elucidated by an accessory testimony, the problem is almost impossible to solve.

Sometimes it is a merchant who gives to his trade-mark the appearance of being

that of the maker. The name of Quellin Pardicque, amongst others, figures on many jugs of brown ware, round a complicated medallion purporting to be the arms of this worthy merchant of Liege, who subsidized several pot works at Raeren and Bouffieux. Similar examples are too numerous for us to quote them all, and we must pass on to a curious sign of very frequent occurrence on the stoneware, and which has up to the present remained unexplained.

It affects the appearance of the figure 4, but in reality is a sort of rudimental sign formed by a vertical line drawn up to the point where it turns down diagonally, and then on the horizontal, there crossing the first line at right angles. We insist purposely on its geometrical construction, because we think the simplicity of such a mark, which the most clumsy hand could easily trace upon a label or package, has been the only cause of its selection and long usage in international commerce. In Flanders and Germany we find it stamped, not only stone pottery, but also on all kinds of manufactured objects, and occurring in connection with many branches of the trade, each maker or trader adding his private sign or monogram to the invariable figure. There is no doubt that it was the badge of a very important association of merchants, extending its ramifications all over the world. To have a right to use it appears to have been held a great honour. We know of several instances of some rich merchant who, having married a lady of noble family, was proud to quarter the arms of his spouse with the professional 4, when he could not boast of a coat of arms of his own. The origin and true meaning of the figure may prove to be a fresh field for investigation, and we hope that the many examples presented hereafter may induce some inquisitive spirit to undertake the task of finding out the last word of the enigma, which, simple and plain as it may seem, has not, as far as we know, as yet been given by anyone.

Fig. 9A. Embossed upon a small Siegburg jug, of the balustre form.

Fig. 10. On a Siegburg jug of rich workmanship (the piece has been etched on Plate I.). The shield, held by an angel, seems borrowed from some chased work of silver, and it contained probably a coat of arms in relief; this has been scraped off by the potter, and in its stead he has deeply incised with a knife two signs: one the private mark of the maker, or perhaps the possessor of the piece; the other, the regular 4, but turned to the right instead of the left.—In the British Museum.

Fig. 11. On a brown pot of Raeren, on which it forms the central ornamentation.—In the South Kensington Museum.

Fig. 12. On another Raeren jug. Completed with the monogram of Jan Emens, modeller, potter, and probably also, merchant.



Fig. 9A.



Fig. 10.

Fig. 13. Another form of the mark of the same potter, with the 4 again turned to the right. This reversed position, noticeable also in the above example, is extremely rare. Such intentional alteration of this well-established figure suggests that a sort of commercial imposition may have been attempted. If so, it would not be an isolated case. A trader, in modest circumstances, and with no legal right to a much-esteemed and well-protected mark, may have thus adopted the nearest imitation of it, with the hope of palming it off on the public as genuine.



Fig. 11.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.



Fig. 14.



Fig. 15.

Fig. 14. Another variation of the preceding monogram, this time on a Siegburg balustré jug. Here the first of the two letters may be taken either as H or I E, and, if so, this would be a counterfeit of that of Jan Emens, whose name had in his time become celebrated enough to be worth taking advantage of, even in an unfair manner. He never worked in the Siegburg factories.

For other and more regular potters' marks, where the same sign stands out as the principal feature, we shall refer the reader to the chapter on Raeren, in which several interesting examples are sketched and described. Those we shall now give have no reference to pottery, but, for the sake of comparison, are taken from various objects representing almost all classes of artistic handicrafts.

Fig. 15. From a large pewter dish, embossed with a rich decoration and the portrait of Duke Augustus I. of Saxony, who died in 1586.—In the Musée Sauvageot.

Fig. 16. Painted on a stained glass window in the same museum.

Fig. 17. On a Limoge enamel in the Cluny Museum. E. Molinier, who gives this mark in his "Dictionnaire des Emailliers," has, curiously enough, read it upside down, and overlooking the important feature of the monogram, has mistaken the inverted top part for an A, while in its proper position it is in reality a W.

Fig. 18. On an oil painting by Lucas Granach, representing Calvary, in the Leipzig Museum. By the side of the kneeling figure of one of the donors are placed

two shields, emblematic of his trade. One contains a hammer and a pickaxe, the other our sign, but slightly differing in the tracing.

Fig. 19. On a covered silver cup of large dimensions, to be used by the master at the state banquets during his tenure of office, and presented to the Guild by its maker, the watchmaker and silversmith, *Leinweber*.—In the Stuttgart Museum.

Fig. 20. The mark of *Jacques Geubels*, a famous tapestry weaver, established at Brussels in the beginning of the seventeenth century; it is found woven on all works coming from his looms.

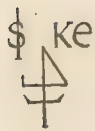


Fig. 16.



Fig. 17.



Fig. 18.



Fig. 19.

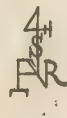


Fig. 20.

Fig. 21. The trade-mark of *Joannis Siberch*, an English printer. It is found on the title-page of "*Galenus Pergamensis*," etc., printed at Cambridge in 1521. This is the earliest dated example of the figure we have so far noted.

We might multiply the examples, and go through almost the whole range of manufactured articles, but we must now speak of the still more numerous instances in which this mysterious cypher comes in as a prescriptive password incidental to wholesale business transactions, and is assumed by notable merchants in combination with their own private mark.

The old engravings representing views of seaports with ships being loaded and unloaded, market-places, scenes in shops and storehouses, seldom fail to show us casks, boxes, and packages on which the sign is conspicuously branded.

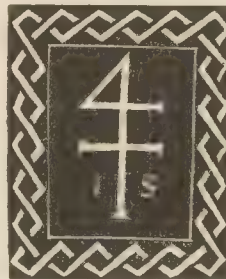


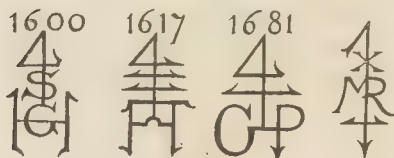
Fig. 21.

It is stamped on the covers of commercial registers and ledgers, and is seen figured on many tokens issued by tradesmen.

Figs. 22—25 reproduce large monograms imprinted in gold on the sides of huge ledgers, sumptuously bound in morocco, of which the Germanic Museum, Nuremberg, possesses a remarkable collection, ranging in date from 1600 to 1681.

The sign is common enough on the brass and silver tokens of Great Britain

to establish the fact that it was well recognized throughout the United Kingdom, and that its presence added an additional guarantee to the value of the fiduciary coins.



Figs. 22—25.

Fig. 26 was issued at Norwich in 1667, by N. Spendlove, merchant grocer.

Fig. 27. Brass tokens of Jn. Fieldings, grocer and tea merchant of Manchester in 1793. In the book published by Condors in 1799, "Arrangement of Provincial Coins," from which

we borrow this example, the cypher surmounting a heart-shaped shield is described as being the recognized mark of the East India Company. Here we find the figure adopted by this powerful trade association, the initials of which can be seen inscribed between the branches of the central X. It was in this form marked on all



Fig. 26.



Fig. 27.



Fig. 28.



Fig. 29.

chests and packages of tea sold by the company or its agents, but whether restricted to that article, or employed for all classes of imported goods, we are not now in a position to state.

In Ireland the number of tokens with this mark is still greater than in England. Boyne, in his "Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century in England, Wales, and Ireland, 1858," gives many of them, from which we select the most ancient in date (fig. 28). They are generally connected with tavern keepers or dealers in colonial goods. Some writers have ventured to give an evasive explanation of the origin of this universal badge of commerce in ancient times, and instead of seeking for an historical clue to its earliest introduction, pretend to see in it a sort of disguised emblem. Thus to some it was a distorted form of the monogram of the early Christians, to others the symbol of the Holy Trinity, and again it has been thought from its resemblance to a mast with its spread sail, to be emblematical of the maritime trade. We do

not think much importance can be attached to any of these suggestions. All that remains averred is that it was a sort of masonic sign, betokening a superior control, or carrying with it certain privileges appertaining to a large commercial brotherhood, and by means of which the affiliated members recognized each other in foreign countries. Far from attributing to it any symbolic signification, we feel inclined to believe that it was merely a graphic and arbitrary sign, all the more readily adopted, as we have just said, from the facility with which it could be traced with a single stroke by any unskilled hand. In addition to the 4, many other graphic signs are met with on the stoneware—circles, crosses, stars, arrow-heads, etc.; but as each of them occur often in isolated cases, they must be considered as the private marks of independent manufacturers or traders.

Fig. 29, taken from a Siegburg canette with religious subjects,—Joseph, Abraham, etc.,—is a good example of the kind.

To understand the utter impossibility of connecting any of these innumerable sign-manuals with the name it once represented, we must remember that in olden times each common workman used to adopt a peculiar mark for the purpose of distinguishing the work of his own hand from that of his fellows; in old buildings, for instance, we notice that each stone has been incised by the cutter, not with letters, but with a sign of the same description.

If we are late in coming to the actual marks of master potters, it is because they constitute in reality a small percentage among the variety impressed on the ware. Many reasons may be found to account for it, the chief one being that the pot-maker was seldom in direct relation with the private customer. What interest, for instance, could he have found in stamping with his name his own productions in a place like Siegburg, where matters were so settled that he was compelled by the regulations to remain an anonymous member of the Guild. In the council alone was vested the right to receive orders in bulk from the dealer, and to make subsequently the repartition between the masters in proportionate lots, so that no one might take an undue advantage over another. Not a name appears in full on any specimen of white ware, with the exception of a few extraordinary works, perfected by one master for his own satisfaction, and preserved in his house as a family keepsake. To this custom must be attributed the making of a fine jug now in the Thewalt collection, unfortunately broken, on a fragment of which we read the names of one of the leading potters of the abbatial town, *Christian Knutgen*, and of his wife. We shall do no more for the present than mention this rare example of a signed piece of Siegburg manufacture; a full description of it will be found in due place. Of all the monograms inscribed upon so many other specimens, Dornbush, registers of the Guild in hand, has not been able to name one with absolute certainty.

With regard to the Frechen potters we are left completely in ignorance.

At Raeren the individuality of a few notable masters disengages itself from the obscure crowd of common pot-makers established all round them, and following as close as they could upon the track of their leaders. Owing to the care they have taken in inscribing their names upon their works of predilection, we are now enabled to form a commensurate idea of the merits and peculiarities of such eminent artists as Jan Emens, Baldern Menniken, and many others, with whom we shall soon become more closely acquainted. It is however to be deplored that the facility possessed by their less talented compeers in pirating their best types and using their discarded moulds for the production of unworthy imitations, leaves us often in doubt whether certain inferior specimens, although bearing their initials, are really genuine works of the masters.

Eventually a masterpiece, well worth signing, is found inscribed only with the Christian name of its maker. Intended evidently for an intimate friend, such indication has been thought sufficiently precise by the giver; for us it is scanty information to be told that "John or Christian made it." The case however is different with respect to the large brown jug etched on Plate XIV, where the long Scriptural inscription imprinted all round terminates with these words: "Johannes Kannenbecker me fecit." The name of Kannenbecker, adopted subsequently by his descendants, became the patronymic of a family still in existence. Marks become again more and more scarce, and at last disappear altogether in the factories of Höhr-Grenzhausen, where the industry, extinct in old centres, revived once more. But there the potter seems too preoccupied with manufacturing in large quantities, after an established standard, good and sound trade articles, to indulge in occasional performances of fanciful or artistic works to gratify his professional vanity. Hardly have a few signs and monograms of undecided import been discovered on the many thousand pots of all sorts left us by the prolific makers of blue and purple stoneware. It is not however our intention to register in this book all the marks appertaining to stoneware. Mr. H. Schuermans has already, with his indefatigable zeal in the cause of the "Grès de Flandres," accomplished the task in his "*Mille Inscriptions des Vases de Grès dits Flamands.*" Reproductions of those offering some particular interest will however be annexed, as the tale goes on, and when they may be of service in assisting the narration.

§ V. LOCALITIES OF MANUFACTURE.

Raeren—Cologne—Frechen—Langerwehe—Siegburg—Altenhar—Meckenheim—Dreyhausen—Höhr-Grenzhäusen—Namur—Bouvigne and Dinant—Lausitz—Bouffloux—Nuremberg—Kreussen—Altenburg—Thalburgel—Salzburg—Bunzlau.



CLUSTERING together on certain spots, where they formed an important centre of industry, or scattered in distant and lonely situations, stoneware factories have at times existed all over the territory of Flanders and Germany. Along the course of the Rhine, where the ware found its birthplace, they are particularly noticeable by their number and the degree of eminence attained by some of them. Taking the river as a centre, we have roughly marked out (fig. 30) the position they occupied on the map with respect to the large towns of the

Rhineland; a glance at our sketch will facilitate the study of at least that part of the general list given hereafter of the principal localities where stoneware of any artistic pretension has been manufactured. Going from north to south we find:

Raeren, near Aix-la-Chapelle. This designation comprises several smaller villages in the vicinity, and all busy with the making of brown stoneware; their names will be given in the chapter devoted to that cradle of the real "Grès de Flandres" to which so many other factories subsequently owed their existence.

Cologne itself had for a time some pot works within its walls; the fact, so far denied by all writers, has now been placed beyond doubt by the discovery of an oven and its contents in the very centre of the city.

Frechen, at some distance from Cologne, on the road to Duren. In this place and in the above, only brown ware, bearing a great likeness to the early productions of Raeren, was manufactured.

Langerwehe, between Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle. A factory emulating the style in vogue at Raeren at a late period; inscribed pieces revealed its existence. A large grey and blue jug with the arms of Madgbourg, preserved in Rhinestein Castle, and another of the same kind now in the Berlin Museum, bear the name of *Tilman Wolf*, who is said to have worked there as master potter about 1661. Nothing more being known of the place, or of the master, we shall make no further reference to it.

Siegburg, a few miles inland, on the right bank of the Rhine and opposite to Bonn. Thoroughly Germanic in the character of its productions, which consist of white ware.



Fig. 30. SKETCH MAP OF THE LOCALITIES OF MANUFACTURE IN RHINELAND.

This important centre is quite distinct from those before-mentioned, and with it must be connected many branches where work was prosecuted after the same style, such as :

Altenhar, an old burg near Remagen on the Rhine, where white ware was also made in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

Meckenheim, situated at a short distance on the left bank of the Rhine. Concerning the potters of these two localities little is known, beside the fact that they were Siegburg people, who left the mother town during the troubles of the war to settle in a less disturbed region. Dornbush, who had been kept acquainted with the result of chance excavations made on the spot, says that the Meckenheim ware was of a light grey colour, and simply decorated with such conventional patterns as may be obtained by incising the wet clay with a many-dented scraper. We give an example of it in fig. 31, observing at the same time that this particular scratching in of flowers and leaves in fan-like shape has been adopted in later times by many other factories.

Dreyhausen, near Coblenz. The Mayence Museum possesses a large number of jugs dug up in that locality. All are of dark red clay, resembling that of the earliest pieces of Siegburg. By their shape they must also be connected with the last-named place. They are of the balustre type, and adorned with an unlimited number of handles, each carrying a mobile ring; when agitated, the rings, clinking against the sides of the jug, give out a clear, lively sound, by which the drinker drew the host's attention to the emptiness of his glass. Few collections are without a specimen of this ware, and Dreyhausen must have kept the speciality of their making for a very long time.



Fig. 31. MECKENHEIM WARE. Height, 10 in.

Varying only as to their size, they never depart from the same general notion. (Fig. 32.) Many still retain their silver mountings, the workmanship of which often indicates the second half of the sixteenth century, but they denote also in other cases a much less ancient period; indeed, judging from the style of these mounts, the dates seem to extend over two centuries.

Höhr-Grenzhausen, opposite Coblenz, now in Nassau, a few miles inland. Here the industry, imported at first by the workmen driven away from Siegburg and Raeren, was destined to reach an enormous development, and the productions of this centre were, in their altered character, to be subsequently imitated by all the stoneware potters of Flanders and Germany. We are still far from knowing all the factories which must be considered as direct offshoots of those established at Grenzhausen

and the adjoining villages; the following, however, must be particularly mentioned; though, situated out of Rhineland, no place could be found for these in our map, nor for those that follow.

Namur, in Flanders proper, the productions of which are almost undistinguishable from their models.

Bouvigne and *Dinant*, where a certain *Everhart de Pont* is said to have manufactured the same sort of stoneware with blue and purple enamels, after the method used at Höhr-Grenzhausen.

Lausitz, in South Germany. The name of this province has but lately been added to the list of localities where the making of stoneware was successfully carried on. From an identified example, now in the Kunst and Gewerbe Museum at Cologne



Fig. 32. DREYHAUSEN WARE. Frankfort Museum.
Height, 11 in.



Fig. 33. LAUSITZ WARE. Cologne Museum.

(fig. 33), we see that the style of decoration closely followed that adopted by the potters of Nassau. It is the same scrolling and flowering scratched in the clay, and enhanced by manganese enamel; but the clay is of a very different quality, being of a peculiar reddish-brown colour, sufficient in itself to distinguish the ware from all others. The specimen here reproduced was completed, probably by one of its former possessors, with an incongruous pewter mount, bearing the date 1579. It would be difficult to attach any importance to that deceitful adjunction in the presence of the decoration scratched over the piece, which clearly indicates the latter part of the seventeenth century. Another peculiarity of the workmanship is that the field, left between the scrolls, is worked out with bold hatching. The history of industrial

art in the region now under study, will probably disclose the names of more factories, the products of which remain still confounded with those of other origin.

Bouffloux and *Chatelet*, in the Walloon country, close to Charleroi; centre of an important industry. Beginning with the imitation of the brown ware of Raeren, and never developing any marked originality, the products of this place afterwards competed seriously with the cheaper articles made at Grenzhausen, from which they could in many cases scarcely be distinguished.

Nuremberg, the probable seat of manufacture of embossed pieces, decorated with bright enamels in the style of Hirshvogel.

Kreussen, in Bavaria, in the vicinity of Beyreuth. The brown ware of the early period was soon altered into an enamelled one, totally differing from anything made before, and on which the harmonious tints, so far adhered to, are replaced by hard and crude colours.

Altenburg, and a few other localities in Saxony. Brown and white ware, but more commonly of a saffron yellow colour; sometimes decorated with rude patterns formed with drops of stanniferous enamels.

Thalburger, near Yena. Grey ware with high reliefs, stained with flowing blue of a dark and dull tint; an illustration of this ware will be found farther on.

Saltzburg, in Bohemia. Polychrome ware with reliefs of figures; often roughened all over the surface with minute shavings of clay, sprinkled on the piece while in a wet state. Fig. 34 here given provides a good illustration of this peculiar process.

We shall now bring to a close this very incomplete list with a short description of the so-called stoneware made at *Bunzlau*, near Liegnitz in Silesia, which cannot altogether be passed over in silence, although in the double point of view of manufacture as well as of decoration it can hardly find its place by the side of specimens of the better characterized and more artistically made kinds of stoneware we have just enumerated. As far as the body is concerned, it is in truth rightly named; it is made of a peculiar clay found on the spot, red or dark brown in colour, and,



Fig. 34. SALTZBURG WARE.
Bon Oppenheim Coll.

when fired, of great density and hardness. The ornamentation consists of applied reliefs of the simplest order, pressed in white clay, and sometimes enhanced with touches of bright colours or gilding. Its peculiar glaze differentiates it completely from ordinary stoneware. This glaze is uncommonly glossy, flowing, and transparent, and is obtained from the vitreous refuse left in the furnaces after the melting of the iron ore; the substance is used in its natural state, merely ground into dust and sieved over the ware. The Bunzlau vessels offer the advantage of being fireproof, differing in this respect from the salt-glazed stoneware (which, as we know, cannot stand a brisk change of temperature), and on that account coffee- and tea-pots and pans of common use in the household have been extensively produced. Very few can be commended as evincing artistic merits. On the jug given in fig. 35 we have the reproduction of the best type of articles belonging to the earliest period of manufacture—the second part of the last century.

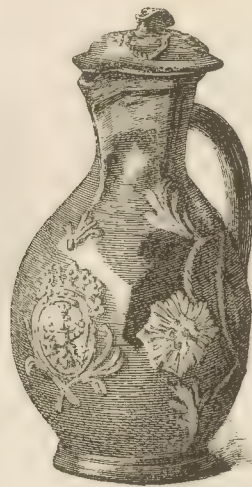


Fig. 35. BUNZLAU WARE. Demmier Coll.
Height, 10 in.

SIEGBURG.

§ I. ITS HISTORY.

Priority of Siegburg in the making of stoneware—History of the town—The potters of the fourteenth century—The Ulgass—Potters' guilds—The charters—Patronage of the abbots and religious communities—Private life and customs—Principal families—Marks.

§ II. THE WARE.

Early vessels—First ornamented ware—Red ware—Black jugs—Salt-glazing introduced—Subjects of figure and coats of arms—The name of stoneware rightly applied to the Siegburg pottery—Balustre vases—Candlesticks—Small figures—"Mietwerke" or exceptional works—Common ware—Fancy shapes—Canettes, or Schnelles—Anti-catholic subjects—Emblazoned pieces—Historical portraits—Mythological scenes—Peasant dances—Jugs—Stability of the style of manufacture—Variety of ornamental subjects—Hunting bottles—Period of decadence—Modern imitations.



§ I. ITS HISTORY.



o the white stoneware we shall give the first place in our studies. On all accounts it claims precedence. Its annals go farther back towards mediæval times than those of any other centre of stoneware potteries, and none of them could boast of productions surpassing it in purity of style, as well as in perfection of workmanship. We all know those white vessels of elegant shape,—quaintly and preciously chiselled with images of holy personages or pagan gods; biblical scenes or mythological allegories; heraldic shields displaying pompous coats of arms, or mysterious floriations and nondescript animals of emblematical import,—all so fascinating and full of interest. To look over a choice collection of these incomparable relics of the old potter of the Rhine soon captivates our mind in the same manner as when we turn over the leaves of those wonderful manuscripts, where the whole feeling of the Middle Ages lives in the illuminations elaborated by the patient and learned hands of unknown scribes. Long was it known among antiquaries under the name of “Cologne ware.”

This generic designation, accepted for want of a better, is no longer recognized, since the true place of manufacture has at last been discovered; and the honour of being the birthplace of the white and richly embossed stoneware of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries must now be restored to the town of Siegburg, of which it shall henceforth bear the name.



THE ARMS OF SIEGBURG.

IN point of antiquity we have every cause to believe that the productions of Siegburg stand before any other. The result of the excavations leave no doubt as to the very remote period at which a plain and coarse pottery "fired in stone" was made at that place. The works of many hundreds of years have thickly accumulated, in superimposed layers of fragments, in such a manner that, according to the depth they are buried, we can form an idea of their respective ages. It is a matter of regret that the deepest strata do not afford any clue to the exact age of the vessels and fragments they contain; neither data nor inscriptions, nor even an attempt at decoration of any particular style, distinguish these plain and imperfect pots from one another. We must observe that this first period of undecorated stoneware has no corresponding one in other centres; in all other places where stoneware has been discovered buried in the soil, ornamental specimens of comparatively late character are mixed up with what we may take as marking the very first times of local manufacture.

At Siegburg, when one comes to the strata in which the ware begins to present more interesting features, and where ornamented work makes its appearance on many of the pieces, we notice that the work is very primitive in character, and bears an appearance of antiquity never exhibited by any of the oldest ornamented examples dug up on the site of other factories.

It is on the Siegburg ware that we can retrace the Gothic feeling in its earliest expression, inspired by the work of contemporary wood- or stone-carving; the archaic style of that early beginning will never be completely effaced, but will continue to pervade the productions of the potter, even when decorative art has been transformed in all its other branches; and the very works of mature ages will afford us additional proofs of a very remote commencement. At Siegburg alone do we see the ways and

methods of the craft in its infancy, persisting to the very end. Obsolete shapes and traditional notions, forgotten everywhere else, remain there unaltered generation after generation, in defiance of the changes supervening in the ruling fashions of the times. The case is quite different with respect to other places, where we find the reigning influence of a new taste at once distinctly indicated. Perhaps these conditions can be accounted for if we accept the assumption that the Flemish factories of Raeren were established long after those of Siegburg had been in existence; at a time when the Italian style was asserting its powerful sway all over Northern Europe, and the Renaissance art was already in full bloom. It was easier for those who were not hampered by the trammels of a long-standing past and firmly-established customs, to produce works in keeping with the then prevailing taste; while, on the other hand, the Siegburg potters, although willing to perfect in some respect their rude handicraft, could not altogether do away with their antiquated fashions, and would not discard the time-honoured traditions handed down to them by their forefathers. But the best argument to be adduced in favour of the priority of Siegburg in the making of stoneware rests on this fact, that, amongst the oldest fragments found in the deepest trenches, nothing has ever been discovered which did not show its true constitutive quality, viz., the hardness and sonority of the body, due to a semi-vitrification of the whole mass. If in the excavations in other localities one meets with earthen vessels to which a corresponding antiquity can approximately be ascribed, they all belong to ordinary pottery—porous, brittle, unglazed, or covered with a plumbiferous varnish; except at Siegburg, this sort of pottery forms generally the lowest layer of *débris* and cast-away pieces, indicating the site of an ancient pot works, wherever stoneware is found buried near to the surface.

The annals of the town, and the documents preserved in its archives, also strengthen the opinion that Siegburg undoubtedly was the cradle of stoneware manufacture, and it is necessary that we should give a short sketch of the history of the town as well as of the extraordinary vicissitudes it underwent while that large confraternity of potters was at work within its walls. Historical events in that unhappy country are too closely connected with the fate of the craft to be passed over and left unrecorded.

SIEGBURG, the see of an ancient abbey, is situated a few miles inland from the left bank of the Rhine. A small stream, the Sieg, once navigable, but now obstructed with sand, ran through the town and established water communication with the main river, which it joined at a small distance from Bonn.

Owing to the dissensions always rife among the lords and princes whose possessions

bordered on the abbey lands, these had always remained a sort of neutral ground, an oasis of peace and plenty in the midst of a much-troubled region, and a long succession of abbots had been for centuries allowed to rule undisturbed over their small dominion. Many a one of these turbulent neighbours would fain have enriched his patrimony by annexing to his fief that desirable town, so busy and prosperous; many envious glances were cast at its towering donjon, its well-fortified stronghold, and its unbroken belt of strong, high walls; but each had to keep his covetousness within bounds, lest any attempt to gratify it should at once turn against him the wrath of his united rivals. And so, till the end of the sixteenth century, the abbot presided alone over the destinies of Siegburg. Under his paternal and peaceful government its ever-increasing trades were grouped and incorporated under wise regulations; its productions began to be known far and wide; merchants came periodically, imparting a fresh impetus to business, and soon all in the little town told a tale of comfort and even of wealth. Taxes were all but nominal, and the free exercise of commerce was fostered by the numerous privileges enjoyed by all the local industries.

With a view to assist the promising outlook of his already flourishing town, as early as 1309 the then ruling abbot had obtained from the Counts of Berg an exemption for the abbey's vassals of all payments and tolls when crossing over that part of the Berg's territory lying between Siegburg and the Rhine. Nearly a century before, in 1225, the burgesses had been franked of the customs duties of the town of Cologne, and a little later on of those of Bonn. Cologne and Siegburg, to cement their friendly commercial intercourse, were constantly exchanging courtesies and civilities with one another. Thus the potters introduced in their statutes an exception in favour of Cologne to the article forbidding the continuation of work in the factories during a certain part of the year; a commission sent by an inhabitant of Cologne might be executed at any time. In return, Cologne had granted from the fifteenth century to the natives of Siegburg the right to dwell in the city without being bound, during the first two years, to have their names entered upon the rolls of any corporation, as other strangers were bound to do within the first three days following their arrival. This formality entailed on any person wishing to reside for a certain time in Cologne, either for pleasure or business, not only some trouble, but also the payment of a heavy tax.

The last years of the sixteenth century mark the beginning of the tribulations that befell the town of Siegburg, so far so quiet and prosperous.

For more than half a century, from the year 1581, war raged almost unceasingly in Rhineland; no sooner had the fate of battles settled a quarrel between two belligerent armies, than new foes appeared on the scene, bringing along with them homicidal strife and withering desolation on that ill-starred territory. As often as fresh hostilities were

resumed, the invaders never failed to loot and ransack the city of Siegburg, one of the first they encountered on their march. The potters' quarters stood immediately behind the outside walls, and during a siege suffered most severely. It is grimly ludicrous to think of such warehouses, stored with fragile and valuable goods, bearing the first brunt of an all-destroying assault, yet such was the predicament in which they were placed; and to this may be added that the enemy, after having gained an entrance within the walls, had always found it convenient to take up his quarters in this very suburb while preparing to storm the central fortress. Yet during half a century the potter continued to ply his trade, notwithstanding these adverse circumstances. Such a state of things may well be described as "potting under difficulties."

In the year 1581 Siegburg experienced for the first time the horrors of falling into the hands of a reckless conqueror, and of being ransacked by an undisciplined host of partisans. This was during the civil war following on the apostacy of Trusches, Archbishop of Cologne.

A few years later on, in 1587, the Spaniards laid siege to the town, and on its surrender committed all kinds of depredations; the "Aulgass," or potters' quarter, suffered particularly from their violence, and was burnt to the ground.

Then, in 1615, came the troops of the Elector of Brandenburg, which forced their way into the city, and although they did not make of it their permanent abode, did not depart without leaving behind them disastrous traces of their passage.

But the year 1632 was to bring the fatal blow to the prosperity of this already much-tryed town, resulting in the utter ruin of its industry. The General Baudisin, who was in command of the Swedish army, bombarded, destroyed, and razed some of the best quarters, and having taken the citadel by storm, garrisoned it with a party of ill-disciplined soldiers, who, during the three years of their occupation, terrorized the whole country, burning, pillaging, and wrecking, at intervals, all that had been spared by the previous wars.

Up to that deplorable year 1632, the pot works had made a good stand against ill fortune and the disturbing consequences of these repeated and calamitous invasions. The abbot's coffers were full, the Guild of the potters was rich, and the payment of a handsome ransom often helped to divert the wrath of the enemy. A few of the ovens might have been knocked down during the rush of the first attack, but they were soon rebuilt when the danger had passed over and peace was once more re-established. The productions of these times, fashioned and decorated with the same amount of care as those belonging to the best years of calm and prosperity, do not betray any trace of decline. But the Swedish occupation, and the dire condition to which the vanquished were reduced by their victors, was a visitation from which they never recovered.

All was over with the noble industry which had made Siegburg glorious and wealthy : disheartened and impoverished, the potter was never more to reproduce his choice models, those fanciful masterpieces, the offsprings of his creative imagination. The ornamented and artistic stoneware became from that moment a thing of the past.

Although the fortifications had been re-erected by the new rulers, what master potter could muster sufficient courage to return to the old quarter, now a heap of ruins, and build new works, only to be again destroyed during the next inevitable siege of the town? Chroniclers tell us that they all abandoned the town, dispersed in all directions, with the exception of three, still bound to their native place by affection or interest. The greater number are said to have reached the hills, far away from the track of the wars they had such good cause to hate and fear. In all probability a few of them started, in their new places of abode, small pot works, where they were able to carry on their old trade on a very modest scale, and make a precarious living by selling their goods in the neighbouring villages. Of course, there could be no more question of artistic stoneware, and marketable utensils only were to be produced under such conditions; of such uninteresting articles, hardly any record has been kept. We find traces of a few of the migrating potters from Siegburg among the vast number of operatives who, at the same period, came over from different points to assist in the promising enterprises and profit by the brilliant opening offered to stoneware makers on the Grenzhause land by the Counts of Isenburg and Wied.

The potters were not alone in flying away from the town after these crushing disasters; the greater and better part of the inhabitants,—those, at least, who found it in their power to do so,—also deserted it, rather than bend beneath the hateful rule of foreign masters; and, years afterwards, when the days of Swedish occupation were gone by, neither threats nor proffered favours could induce them to return.

In the year 1636, the abbot, much grieved at seeing the city bereft of its inhabitants, attempted vainly to promulgate an edict by which it was enacted that all burgesses who persisted in living abroad, and who still owned estates and house property within or without the walls, should be liable to have all their land and properties confiscated and taken possession of by the chapter, if they did not return to occupy them within a year. Notwithstanding the extreme severity of this measure, perhaps even on that very account, no one took heed of it, and in the streets, as much deserted as heretofore, no attempt was made to reconstruct the tumble-down houses and the ruined public buildings.

Even strangers, so zealously guarded against by the old regulations, were invited

to come and assist in forming the nucleus of a fresh population. Against all the rules of the Guild, we see the Abbot Jean von Bock-zu-Pattern admitting to the craft in 1654 a certain *Everard Lutz*, just arrived from the parish of Ehrenbrestein, and who had never belonged to the town of Siegburg. The appeal to strangers of every nationality took a definite shape in another proclamation of the same abbot, dated 1659, in which it is promised that any foreigner, willing to settle and carry on his trade or vocation within the dominions of the Abbey, shall be granted total exemption from all duties and taxes during a term of ten years. It does not appear, however, that the allurements of such advantages had the required effect in restoring to the potters' quarter its departed life and activity. The later excavations on that site have brought to light the foundations of numerous important buildings, which had been left in the same ruined state as they were when the armed invaders retired, leaving all waste and barren behind them.

We have never come across a good specimen of Siegburg ware bearing a date posterior to 1632, and all leads us to conjecture that such pots as were made after that time were of the commonest sort, and in no way worthy to be compared with the works of former days. No more skilful artists amongst the few artisans still plying their trade in the place; no more art works amongst the vulgar crocks which sufficed to answer the wants of an impoverished country; and although we can follow the traces of the potters' Guild for more than a century afterwards, the craft stood then in such reduced circumstances, that not much more remained of the once mighty confraternity than an empty name, and the vain recollection of a glorious past.

We find in the official documents that in 1643 only three masters were inscribed on the roll of the craft, and that the number of ovens full of goods fired in the year amounted to four only. How could, in fact, the industry revive, when we see the inhabitants steadfastly refusing to return, even at the risk of forfeiting their property, and when all inducements offered to strangers by the abbatial authority, with a view of reconstituting the population, were ineffectual? It is true the political situation of the country, far from coming to a settlement, was going from bad to worse, and the poor town of Siegburg had more than her share of the hardships and miseries befalling a country devastated by a century of uninterrupted warfare. Occupied in turns by the army of the Palatinate, by the imperial troops, and by the French soldiers during the Thirty Years' War, she was on each occasion exposed to the rapacity and extortion of the combatants; until, towards the end of the seventeenth century, the number of burgesses had dwindled down to under one hundred. Still, the memory of bygone times never ceased to haunt the minds of the abbots, hoping against all hope, that they should again see

the noble old craft flourish as of yore beneath their benevolent rule. With that view, Bernard von Westrem, in 1706, summoned to his council all that remained of masters and best men, and after having discussed the matter with them, attempted to frame for the guidance of the Guild fresh statutes, better suited to meet the requirements of a new situation. We do not know that this attempt to instill a new life into a dead body was attended with a satisfactory result. The traditions of the good old times, long disregarded and forgotten, could not easily be revived, and get the better of the vulgar style of work the craftsman had fallen into; nothing but common pots of the most modest kind were then manufactured, and if the ware was in any way decorated, it was merely by some scratched-in patterns, stained with blue and purple enamels in imitation of the coloured ware brought into fashion by the Grenzhausen factories.

In the year 1806 the Duchy of Berg fell under French domination, and all guilds or trade corporations were abolished; that of the potter, or at least what remained of it, shared the same fate. A few ovens had, however, been left standing, and in the wretched workshops attached to them some unskilled artisans—perhaps the direct descendants of the ancient masters—continued to make stoneware pots and bottles of the lowest and most worthless description.

While closely associated with the political events we have briefly recorded, the Guild of the potters has, at Siegburg, a history of its own. Its ponderous archives will, when thoroughly sifted and deciphered, enable us to follow its progress step by step through long ages. It will form one day an unbroken diary; the pages already re-constituted have put us in possession of many precious facts relating to the uses and customs of the members of the community, and the exact conditions, artistic and commercial, under which the workmen carried on their avocations at different periods. To these private annals we must now revert, and record what is known of the Siegburg potters from the earliest infancy of the craft.

The excavations on the banks of the Sieg have supplied us with almost pre-historic vouchers of the antiquity of the pottery in the land. By laying open the bosom of the earth we trace there, link by link, an unbroken chain of evidence, the end of which is lost in the dimness of uncertain centuries. We must give up any idea of fixing, even approximatively, the age of these undetermined specimens, but they go far to prove that nowhere else can be found traces of the same trade so persistently attached to the soil from time immemorial. In due place we shall describe and illustrate what belongs to those earliest of all fabrics of stoneware. We cannot expect much from the actual vouchers, from the historical point of view; it is in the written documents that we shall find our first reliable information. For instance, we ascertain

from a deed referring to the sale of some land in the year 1384, that potters were at that date already settled on the spot, the plot of land in question being described as "*hereditas inter figulos*." In any other place such an occurrence would not have much importance, as it might be taken as applying only to common earthenware makers, but we must not forget that, as a fact, nothing but real stoneware was ever made in or around Siegburg. Contemporaneous, or even earlier documents, in great numbers, contain many a mention of properties situated in "*vico figulorum dicto Uylgassen*." This name of Uylgasse, or Ulgass, was never afterwards altered, and the street or quarter occupied by the potters from times immemorial is still in our days known under the same name. We have good evidence that even then the master potter was not a wretched workman, a kneader of mud, as was often the case elsewhere; but that on the contrary, he was a man of means, and even of importance in the town. The names of some of them appear, as far back as the beginning of the fifteenth century, connected with somewhat important transactions in the buying or selling of land, or in the records of pious foundations. Thus, we see the name of a "*Knuytgin figulus*" inscribed in the registers of the convent of Bödingen, in 1427, as one of the founders and benefactors of that charitable institution. We shall in what follows frequently meet with the Knuytgins, or Knutgens, in association with the history of the Guild, to which that family supplied a long list of masters and counsellors. This is one of the most notable amongst the many patronymics which can be traced many centuries back on the rolls of the Siegburg potters. They might well be proud of their ancestry, even in their time of decline. In what other ceramic centre, may we ask, could the noble artisan see behind him such an array of ancestors, each handing down to his son his respected trade, till it had at last descended to him? Many titled houses might have envied so long and unquestionable a pedigree.

If we are somewhat in the dark as to what kinds of pots were manufactured by the elder Knuytgin and his contemporaries, we know as a fact that their work already enjoyed and deserved high consideration, and that Siegburg pots were sent as presents to noble patrons and ladies of rank. We read in the municipal registers of accounts preserved in the archives this entry, dated 1459: "To offering to Madame de Berg a set of earthen pots; to paying a special messenger to carry them to Nydecken; together, 4 marks." Secondary evidences of the antiquity of the trade are found in a still more ancient deed, drawn in 1439, where we find the ponds of "*Klinkenberg*" already mentioned. The inference that can be drawn from this is forcible enough, since it has been ascertained from other sources that these ponds were disused clay pits, left to fill with water after the beds of potters' clay had been exhausted.

We can scarcely realize the insight this simple and telling statement gives us

into the mysterious past of the Siegburg potters, and what must have been the magnitude of production, since already, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the soil had been excavated to a sufficient depth to form several small lakes.

In order to account for such wonderful excavations, it would hardly be sufficient to suppose that nomad tribes of brick-makers had, at a time when building was brisk in the neighbouring town, settled their hovels and primitive kilns there. Even had they used up for their bulky work a great part of the material abstracted from the quarries, to them alone, and to their occasional occupation, could not be attributed such a transfiguration of the soil. We should still have to imagine that a large agglomeration of sedentary workers of the clay was established in the next city from a very early period, who were also wont to fetch from the same place their supply of raw material.

We assume, in a general way, that the coarse pottery found in the deepest trenches opened in the potters' quarters was produced by these early makers. But how are we to connect any of these specimens with the jugs spoken of in the old documents? Between fragments so similar in appearance, and yet so wide apart in ages, it is almost impossible to discriminate. This we say, having in mind the vases we know to have been offered to the Duchess of Berg; what sort of vases they may have been, in spite of the yieldings of the excavations, still remains an open question.

On the roughest bits of what we may take as representing the most ancient form of manufacture, we already find the distinctive characteristics of the much-improved pottery which was to succeed them long afterwards. Far from being common earthenware, they are fired at a very high temperature.

The older an example, the harder it is; the tall grey jugs with tundish-shaped tops, for instance, known as *Jacoba Kannetjees*, are as dense as real hard stone, and ring like metal. In the shapes, as in the substance, there is little variation during the course of several centuries, and the common articles differ but little, whether they belong to the most ancient times or to the comparatively more modern and most advanced period. Inscriptions, or associations with coins or other objects which could fix their date, are still wanting.

The *Ulgass*, as we have already said, had been from all times the quarter occupied by the potters. The name comes from the Latin "*Olla*," a pot, from which "*Ull*" in low German; even now a workman potter goes by the name of "*Uln*" among the people of Rhineland. It was a long street, lying to the north-east of the town, five minutes' walk from the fortified walls, and closed at both ends by barriers and gates. All goods carried out of those limits had to pay the toll, and the duties to which they were subjected. Duties and toll were very light, and the care of levying them was

intrusted to a lessee, generally one of the potters of the Ulgass, who tendered for it yearly.

Good plastic clay lies almost everywhere in and about Siegburg, and the configuration of the ground all around the town still shows how many places have been dug into and upturned for the purpose of extracting it. A plot of land in the vicinity of the Ulgass—or rather, as it was called afterwards, the Aulgasse—is still known as the “Dakaul,” or clay pits.

The most ancient accounts, still preserved in the town, go back to the year 1427, and on these the names of certain potters already appear in connection with some taxes to be paid by them to the excise. However anciently the trade may have been practised in the town, it was not from the first recognized and incorporated as a regular craft. It was only in the first years of the sixteenth century that the potters were united into a guild, approved and regulated by the chapter of the Abbey and the magistrates of the town. Its first official charter was granted to them at that time.

While all the other trades had long occupied the attention of the governing bodies of the abbatial town, and received their statutes and regulations, the potters, as it seems, had been neglected and forgotten, being looked upon, no doubt, as folks of too little importance to deserve the same recognition. They were, by-the-by, treated exactly in the same way in every town of Europe. The various branches of trades and arts and crafts had everywhere been united into close corporations since mediæval times, the potters alone had not yet been found worthy to form a separate company of their own, but were associated with such recognized trades, the work of whose members was in some way connected with their own. Thus we find in the registers of most of the large towns, even late in the sixteenth century, brick-makers and workmen in terra cotta ranged under the builders' banner; those whose business it was to decorate pottery, either with painting or modelling, joined the group of the painters and sculptors; and if any pot-maker or tile manufacturer had attained to such a high position as to employ a large staff of workmen, and had created a connection sufficient to sell his goods wholesale, he was allowed to join the rich company of “Sellers of glass and earthen pots.” The Siegburg potters were, we believe, the first amongst their brothers of other countries to receive charters of incorporation. The preponderance of this important community was recognized by the honour tardily paid to them in that manner. We have abundant proofs that it had been duly earned by a long spell of efficient and commendable labour, which had gone not a little towards increasing the wealth and prosperity of the town. Although incorporated at a later date than the other trades, as soon as they received their first statutes the official records of the Guild began to be entered in the town registers; and we see, from the

evidence supplied by these registers, that the potters' Guild had a powerful voice in the management of public business, and assumed without contest a leading position among the rival guilds.

The earliest of those written regulations, enacted to unite all the potters, masters and men, into a close corporation, as well as the modified forms of subsequent statutes, have been preserved to us. From the wise foresight and the precise accuracy with which all possible eventualities are, from the first, anticipated and provided for, we may judge that these were not mere speculative rules, but rather the sanction of old established customs, which the official document confirmed and legalized. In no way are they, as is generally the case, a mere transcription of the rules adopted by other guilds; they contain, on the contrary, a sequence of original dispositions, all inspired by the practical spirit of the masters themselves, and admirably adapted to the minute requirements of the trade. These statutes, which it is our purpose to pass cursorily under review, are five in number.

1.—The first and original charter, preserved in the Kuhrbuck of the town of Siegburg; this bears no date, but we may safely assume that it must go back to the first years of the sixteenth century.

2.—1516. Statutes approved by the Abbot Gerard von Plettenberg.

3.—1531. Statutes approved by the Abbot Jean von Furstenberg.

4.—1552. Statutes approved by the Abbot Herman von Watchendonck.

5.—1706. Statutes approved by the Abbot Frank Bernhart von Westrem.

Of these five documents, No. 4, granted in 1552, is simply a textual reproduction of the two preceding ones, and no more than their official recognition given by a new abbot on the occasion of his being raised to that dignity; we shall therefore dismiss it once for all; neither shall we have much to say about No. 5, which, having been enacted by the abbot in the vain hope of reviving in his town an industry then practically extinct, is for us of little importance.

They are all given *in extenso* in Dornbush, "History of the Artistic Guild of Siegburg," and also in the translation of the above in the "Beffroi" by Mr. Weale; the reader who may wish to study them in the original must refer to these works, as we cannot here give more than a few extracts of the most interesting articles they contain. Besides the statutes, a host of records and documents of all sorts concerning the town of Siegburg and her guild of potters are scattered in some of the State Archives of Germany. Those of Dusseldorf and Berlin alone possess thousands of authentic deeds and registers, which, when sifted, will settle many questions as yet undecided. Most of the information we possess up to this day has come to us through the unimpeachable records preserved in

the town hall and in the church, and which have been sedulously investigated by the antiquaries.

Although all new regulations were discussed and framed by the master in council, it was—as appears by the list given above—the abbot who granted and promulgated them. He acted as grand master, and his sanction had to be obtained whenever any modification was considered necessary. He was also supreme judge in cases of serious infractions of the rules; and any difference arising between two masters, which the council was unable to settle to the satisfaction of both parties, had to be brought before him. This was an honour reserved to the potters alone by the abbot, who had constituted himself their patron and protector; all litigations between the members of the other trade-guilds were tried before the city magistrates.

Each of the statutes reproduces the most important clauses of its predecessors. In all great stress is laid upon the qualifications indispensable,—first, to be received as an apprentice, and afterwards to be allowed to settle in business as a master. This indispensable qualification, without which no one could be admitted into the trade, was that he should be the lawful son of a master or workman, and have been born in Siegburg.

It was expressly forbidden to all masters to take a foreign workman into his service, lest, by his discovering the secrets of the trade, the making of a pottery so far unrivalled in other places might be transported elsewhere. These restrictions are all the more significant, as showing in what high consideration the potters' trade was held at that time, that we do not find any similar prohibition in the Kuhrbuck with regard to any of the other guilds of the town. This part of the regulations was always strictly obeyed by the masters, and it was only at a time when the craft was at the last extremity that the abbot himself urged that a few exceptions should be made to this prohibition. But he had to issue a special decree to provide for the admission to mastership of a certain Everard Lutz, a native of Ehrenbrestein, and this at a time when the Guild was composed of very few members. A little later, in 1675, the articles were still rigorously observed: Peter Zander, one of the masters, having taken a stranger into his employ, his colleagues lodged a complaint against him, and he was sentenced to deposit with the council a sum of one hundred florins as security that the man would not divulge any of the secrets he might discover.

From 1552 the ordinary business of the Guild was managed by four masters, elected by the whole craft; each year two new members took the place of the retiring ones. Their functions were to see to the strict observances of the regulations, and to pronounce on such petty cases of litigation as did not come within either the high jurisdiction of the general council, or that of the abbot. The executive was vested in

two officers or bailiffs, whose duty it was to recover the fines; to put in distrains on the goods of offenders who did not comply with the judgments; and to cry out the proclamations and convocations to the meetings.

The craftsmen were divided into four classes, viz., apprentices, labourers, workmen, and masters.

An apprentice was bound for six years to his master, who as a general rule was his own father. For each apprentice thus engaged the master was called upon to pay a duty, partly in cash and partly in wine. A similar duty, also in wine and money, was due by the workman who, having gone through his years of probation, was promoted to a mastership by the decision of the whole craft mustered together for the solemnity.

A man wishing to qualify as a workman had first to undergo a rigorous examination: he had to satisfy the council that he was proficient in throwing and turning all sorts of shapes; that he could make moulds for the applied reliefs, and also press these reliefs, and neatly fix them on the surface of the ware. Some still more accomplished probationers added to these initiatory requirements a complete knowledge of all the other parts of the art. They were examined on the following points, and were asked to show that they had mastered the most delicate operations of manipulating the clay: that they could contrive a new ornament, design a novel and special shape, or cut in the stone or in the dry clay the dies with which small ornaments were stamped on the form; that they knew how to place the ware in the oven and fire it; in short, that they were able, in case of emergency, to take the master's place and overlook all operations. However, the artistic part, the execution of the best models, was never intrusted to the common workman, clever though he might be; this was reserved for the "formschneider," an independent specialist, who was not bound to any particular factory, but left one master for another as soon as his services were no longer required.

As to the master, before he obtained his certificate he had to show that he was conversant with all the branches of knowledge connected with manufacture, as his duty was to overlook the work done by his men in every detail. He reserved to himself the care of selecting the best sorts of clays and sands, as well as of all other raw materials, and of superintending their preparation. All the finished ware passed through his hands for examination; after he had satisfied himself that each article was well made, good, and sound, it was, under his own supervision, set in the oven, and to no one would he ever intrust this last important duty of conducting the firing. The labourers shared between them the roughest and most menial part of the work; they dug out the clay, blunged, diluted, and marched it; they prepared it to the required consistence,

ready to be put on the wheel by the thrower; they attended to the firing, under the direction of the master, feeding the mouths of the oven at proper intervals; drawing out the ware as soon as it began to cool; repairing the damage done by the firing to the brickwork; in short, doing on the premises all the odd jobs for which they were constantly wanted. To these labourers must be added a good number of carters and woodmen, most of them outsiders, who, not being accepted as regular men, were allowed access into the precincts of the works only after they had taken the oath never to divulge anything they might witness within; for this reason they went by the name of "sworn-in folks."

We gather from the above enumeration that the staff of people employed was nearly as numerous as that necessary for the carrying on of a modern manufactory, and that the times were already far gone when the old potter discharged by himself, or with the assistance of an apprentice, the multifarious duties and performances connected with the conduct of his trade.

The most stringent rules had been laid down to establish a close solidarity between all members, and preclude all individual encroachment which might prove detrimental to the welfare of the community. In return for the many privileges conceded to them, the masters were expected to comply with the long list of obligations and restrictions carefully drawn up with a view to regulate all their business doings and dealings; and from these well-defined lines no one could swerve or demur.

The number of ovenfuls that a master was entitled to fire during each year was previously fixed, according to the number of hands he kept in his employ; on no consideration, however, could more than sixteen ovenfuls be granted to the same master for a complete year. In the event of one of his workmen having died, or having left since the beginning of the working year, the four jurors, forming the ruling committee, could decide that his firings should be reduced to such number of ovenfuls as they thought proper. All the works were placed under the control of the four jurors. Every fortnight it was their duty to go the round of the quarter to see that all was right according to the regulations, and especially that no master exceeded the number of firings allotted to him. Even the time-honoured and simple manner in which the reckoning was kept is preserved to us in the original document. A stick of wood, hanging by the oven door, was each time notched with a knife by the comptroller: the accuracy of the account could not be contested by anyone.

A general tariff for all articles to be manufactured in the following year was duly fixed by the council; no potter could of himself reduce or increase these prices; moreover he was bound to deliver none but goods of good make and quality. The Guild had prospered so much since its incorporation, that, in the tariffs revised in 1552,

the prices of most of the articles were raised to exactly the double of what they were in 1516.

In the same way wages were settled beforehand. No workman or labourer could be engaged under special conditions which should be above or below the established scale; no presents of any sort, either in goods or in kind, wine or garments, were allowed to pass between masters and men. Sizes and capacity were to conform with the legal standard kept at the Guild Hall, and all pots were to be condemned which did not contain the exact measure. The charter of 1552 introduced a more pliant clause with regard to sizes, recommending only that, as far as possible, pots of a dimension over the usual standard should not be manufactured.

The utmost circumspection presided over that part of the statutes dealing with an eventual over-production, which unrestrained would infallibly lead to the debasement of the quality of the ware and to the discredit of the Guild. It is therefore prescribed that all work shall be suspended between Martinmas and Ash Wednesday; and that no one shall be permitted in any season to work by candlelight. One exception to the aforesaid rule is made however with regard to especial commissions sent in directly by princes and noblemen, or by the burgesses of the town of Cologne, who, through a mutual agreement, had long enjoyed that favour. The legislation, having in view the necessity of putting a check to over-production, had wisely set apart for a temporary rest such moments as were less favourable to faultless and profitable work, namely: evenings, when the insufficient means of getting artificial light could by no means serve as a substitute for the light of day; and winter months, during which a hard frost might casually destroy the labour of weeks.

All cases of contestations, offences, or transgressions, were investigated and tried in the first instance by the council of the Guild; but while all the other trades could only appeal against the decisions of their fellow-masters before the civil magistrates, the potters enjoyed the privilege of bringing their grievances and arguing their suits before the abbot, who, having heard both parties, pronounced a final judgment.

The penalties inflicted on delinquents and transgressors consisted in slight or heavy fines, to be acquitted, according to circumstance, in wine or in cash. Were not the fines forthcoming immediately after the sentence, in case of their amounting only to a small sum, the quarter-masters or bailiffs proceeded to the house of the offender and seized his wheel, carrying it away with them, to return it only on his discharging the debt. But if a heavy penalty were in question, it was recovered through the agency of the ordinary police officers. The highest punishment to which a member could be condemned was expulsion from the Guild; but such a severe measure could

not be carried into effect without the sanction of the abbot. In the event of one or more of the members of the community committing a serious misdemeanour, the abbot could mulct the whole craft in heavy damages, as responsible for anything that occurred through want of vigilance and supervision on the part of the overlookers. Thus, one instance is recorded of the Abbot Wilhelm von Hochkirchen sentencing the Guild to a fine of 600 gold florins; the judgment, being final, is not even motivated, and whatever the misdeed may have been, it is only described as a "serious offence." The rates levied by the Abbey were in themselves insignificant. The town had a right to exact certain duties on all goods carried out of the gates; but it had been so managed that those duties reverted in part to the coffers of the Guild. The lease of the toll being offered by auction every year between the masters, they had all come to an understanding not to outbid the one amongst them who was selected to be the next lessee, so the toll was held by one of their fellows, virtually on behalf of the craft. This was put an end to in 1579, after which year the burgesses of the town kept the toll-gate within their own hands.

Besides acquitting the above taxes, the potters were also bound to present yearly to the abbot, as a token of respect and submission, a selection of their best goods, and to supply the Abbey with drinking vessels of the ordinary sort. When we have added that on some occasions they had to send to the neighbouring magnates a few handsome samples of their art, with a view to conciliate the favour and protection of a powerful patron, we shall have recorded the whole extent of the very moderate taxation the Siegburg potter had to bear.

The part of the statutes regulating commercial transactions was also very complicated: we shall extract from them such provisions as appear worthy of attention; they denote with what care and foresight the potters guarded against any eventual emergency which might result in the town of Siegburg losing the monopoly of the white stoneware trade.

No one was allowed to sell on credit, within the limits of the quarter, above the value of half a florin; the maximum was however raised later on to six florins.

When a buyer declared himself unable to settle immediately his purchase in cash, and offered to deposit goods as a guarantee, he could do so on his security being accepted by the four jurors. Corn was taken in payment as cash, and so was wine; barter and bargains were thus much facilitated.

No one could buy stoneware in the works for the purpose of selling it in the town shops; the potters reserved to themselves the right of displaying for sale and retailing all their products in the Aulgasse, where it could be bought by the inhabitants for their private use, or by foreign dealers. These could carry it away themselves, after they

had satisfied the council that they were intended for distant places, or arrange for the goods to be sent to them at their own cost and risks. Any ware exposed for sale in the town was liable to be forfeited.

The Guild had established several branch offices and warehouses in the adjacent provinces, viz., at Oberplass and St. Cyriaque, in the Duchy of Berg; at St. Apollinaris and Weillen in the Duchy of Juliers; and also at Treves and Cologne.

The outside trade was carried on under curious conditions most interesting for us to examine. Above all, they seem to have been planned with the idea of preventing all potters from embarking in speculation on their own private account, and mixing in any way with selling and buying, so that they might devote all their efforts to the improvement of the handicraft. Members of the Guild were forbidden to carry away, either by water or land, any goods of their own making or bought from others, for the purpose of selling them at Dusseldorf or Andernach, or any intermediate towns.

The Cologne merchants, who purchased the largest quantity of the pottery made at Siegburg, bought it on the understanding that they should resell it only in foreign parts, and never in Cologne or in the surrounding villages or towns, under the penalty of being refused any ware in the future. Any private customer desirous of buying a few articles of the much-admired white stoneware, was expected, if he lived within a certain distance, to come and fetch it from the potters themselves, that these might benefit by the retail price. But whether these recommendations were ever respected, is somewhat difficult to believe; we fear, on the contrary, that they were daily broken by all parties.

Bringing to the town market pottery manufactured abroad was also forbidden, for fear it should enter into competition with the local trade. This prohibition, the effect of which would have been to deprive the manufacturers of any chance of seeing what progress was being made in other countries, had its corrective in this, that when the annual fair came round, goods of all nations were allowed to be exposed for sale free of duty in the market, and all sorts of curiosities appeared there for a time.

The exportation to foreign countries was settled between the hands of the merchants of Cologne and a few other towns of the Low Countries and North Germany; these acted as middlemen, and gave large commissions or bought wholesale the yearly productions of one or several pot works. It was through their agency that the "Cologne ware," as it was then called, was exported all over northern Europe, even so far as Sweden and Norway, where a great many pieces are still found in our day. Each of these tradesmen was anxious to obtain and keep to himself the sole right of trading in stoneware with a certain town. We see, for instance, Thierri Dulman, of Cologne, enjoying the privilege of supplying with white pots the retailers of the town of Hamburg up to 1599, in which year his right was transferred to his fellow-townsmen, Thierri Strauss.

All contracts for large supplies of goods were arranged by the council of the Guild, and were usually made for a period of twelve years; during that time the customer agreed to take, from such masters as he was authorized to deal with, a given quantity of certain pieces, for a price fixed beforehand. The council in its turn promised that neither the same articles, nor indeed any other ware, should be sold to any other dealer inhabiting the town in which the other party to the contract was established. What was manufactured for him bore the arms of the country or the city for which they were destined, as well as his initials or trade-mark.

On the upper Rhine and on the Moselle, in the north and in the south of Germany, each province had its own town agent corresponding with the Guild, and dealing with it under similar conditions.

Unfortunately the wise provisions which were to secure a fair participation of the profits of the community to all its members, and hinder them from taking undue advantage of each other, were no sooner enacted than they were infringed on all sides. The complaint lodged by the potters in 1564, against their fellow-master, Peter Knütgen, shows with what laxity the regulations were observed, when they were not completely disregarded. He was accused of having sold his goods directly to some foreign dealers not approved by the Guild, and who were debarred—according to the established rules—from the privilege of purchasing any Siegburg white ware on account of their being known to be regular buyers of brown and other kinds of stoneware. Besides, by means of underhand dealings, Knütgen was said to have forwarded and sold in the Oberland, or upper Rhine, more ware on his own account than all the other masters taken together. Merely denying the truth of the accusation, he denounced in his turn the members of the council as having knowingly violated twelve articles of the statutes. The contending parties appeared before the Abbot Herman von Wachtendonck, who had no little trouble in pacifying the quarrel and bringing about a compromise. It was at last decided that, in the future, all masters should dispense with the agency of the middleman, and for all business done along that part of the Rhine lying higher than Andernach, should henceforth deal directly with the customer. Two masters, selected for that purpose, were to take charge of a yearly consignment, and carrying it by boats into the Oberland, dispose of it along the banks of the river to the best advantage for the makers. This was tried, and proved unsuccessful. Production was increasing, more expensive articles were manufactured, and the two masters found it difficult to get rid even of the small stock contained in their boats. The new plan having proved a failure, it was not long before they reverted to the intermedium of the regular dealer, and solicited once more his wholesale commissions, ready to accept it on his own conditions. A monopoly for the upper Rhine trade was applied for and granted to

Christian Spitzgrosz, of Siegburg, and Christian Rietsetzer. An agreement having been duly passed and signed between the consignees and the master potters, not one single clause of it, as it appears, was ever observed by the latter parties. The quarrel, as it is reported, throws a curious light on the business habits, not to say on the honesty, of the worthy folks of 1590. A few days after the conclusion of the contract, Rietsetzer denounced the Guild before the court of noblemen for refusing to adhere to the conditions set down in their agreement. He complained that, having ordered 14,000 pots to be delivered to him, he could not obtain more than 5,000; meantime, he added that he knew of a merchant in Cologne to whom 28,000 had been forwarded, in defiance of all his rights, and probably because the Cologne merchant had offered to take the ware at a premium.

Most of the restrictions in the conduct of business, which had been made in prosperous times, remain conspicuous in all the first charters; but they are struck off from the last statutes given in 1706, at a moment when the stoneware trade was all but extinct in the town, and when efforts were attempted to revive it against all hope.

Public taste had become indifferent to the elegant white ware jugs, well glazed inside, and displaying outwardly the dull sharpness of their elaborate reliefs. One class only of customers remained to be satisfied—that of the wine growers and brewers, who, in years of plenty, were still in want of common stoneware bottles to store and sell their wines and beer. The making of jugs and mugs for the country tavern, common jars for the household, and—lowest of low articles—the mineral water bottle, sufficed for many a year to protract the wretched existence of the craft. But of the wretched conditions under which it was lingering during the eighteenth century little could be said which would offer any interest; for this reason we shall here take leave of the statutes, after having extracted from them all that we think might concern the reader.

The powerful organization of the artistic craftsmen of Siegburg, also emulated in some degree in other places, is without parallel in the whole history of stoneware, and its action was strongly assisted by the prudent and paternal government of the abbot, supreme chief and patron of the Guild. Everywhere in Germany we find the Church dignitaries closely associated with the development of the stoneware industry, showing their appreciation of jugs and pots of fine workmanship, and lending a helping hand to their makers. Hence the vast number of vases and vessels emblazoned with the arms of monasteries and the escutcheons of celebrated bishops and abbots which we meet with at every step.

During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance the monk appears to have stood, in many lands, the friend and protector of the potter. The quiet inmates of the convent

valued much for their own use those earthen pots, which cost little, and kept the wine cool, while such brittle utensils could hardly have been accepted in the guard-room and the tavern, where, on account of the rough handling they received, jugs of metal or wood were much preferred. As to the wealthy nobleman, full of pride and ostentation, he continued for a long time to drink out of fine glass or precious metal, despising anything made of common clay, like the pots used by the lower classes.

For the refectories of religious communities were made those large pitchers and handled jars of extraordinary size. Some of them served at meal-times to bring up the wine from the cellars; others were left in the cells of the brethren with the necessary supply of water for the day. These big jars are generally decorated with crucifixes and religious subjects or emblems, which leave no doubt as to their destination.

Not only was the monk the friend and patron of the potter, but he was also at times his fellow-worker in the workshop; often had he been his predecessor at the wheel and at the oven-side, and to him did he stand, in many localities, as a teacher and master. It was the religious orders which introduced for the first time polychrome pottery in building decoration, and fashioned with their own hands the richly-devised tiles they employed as pavement in the sacred edifices. The processes were imported in northern Europe by travelling friars coming back from Italy, where these pavements seem to have originated in the imitation of the ancient Roman mosaics. We must expect that, in some instances, one of the lay brothers, first employed by the monks as assistant, may have endeavoured to imitate what he had seen done in the convent, and had established close by a workshop of his own, to profit by their advice and protection. It is said, however, that some religious confraternities, jealous of their professional secrets, refused to communicate them to anyone; others, on the contrary, fostered the creation of the industry on their own land, and contented themselves with keeping the right of doing on their premises such pottery as they stood in want of for their private use. At Siegburg, more than anywhere, the interests of the Abbey and those of the workshop were intimately linked together; this, however, when the abbot granted to the potter, by special charter, the exclusive privilege of tile and brick-making within the limits of his dominions, did not prevent him from reserving to himself the right of employing at his will any workmen he might choose to make such tiles and bricks as were required for keeping in repair the buildings of the Abbey and its dependencies.

The intercourse between the abbot and his potters was constantly kept up. In all difficult contingencies of private or public import he was consulted as a father, or a supreme ruler; he was appealed to as a judge when a litigious case could not be brought by ordinary means to a settlement, and his conciliatory decisions were always respected. His directing spirit is recognized in the style adopted by the modellers, and to

him was probably due the selection of those religious subjects recalling to the mind some plain teaching of virtue or moral, which, repeated over and over again, had become the commonplace illustration of the ware. The percentage of four pots he exacted from each ovenful fired allowed him to keep a regular control over the quality of manufacture. Besides this regular tax, he received every year, on particular occasions, a gift of the best vases, made for him by the cleverest makers, and presented on behalf of the craft; in addition to the usual amount of common ware with which they were bound to supply the monastery.

The good feeling which united the monk and the potter at Siegburg can also be well traced, not only in the abbatial town, but also in places where the craftsman was in no ways bound to the ecclesiastical authority. At Raeren the independent masters kept on the best terms with their neighbours, the abbots of Cornely-münster, and many are the fine jugs they made, adorned with the coat of arms of these high dignitaries, and presented as a token of deference and respect. In the very midst of their active community stood the priory of Brandenburg. The brethren of St. Johan of the Cross, who occupied the convent, took a keen interest in the works of the industrious pot-makers; it is said that they associated themselves in some way with their labours by assisting them with advice in the matter of shapes and decorations, and with the gift of models and engravings, of which their education and high standing allowed them to make a good selection. Owing no doubt to the recommendation and patronage of these two religious houses, drinking vessels were made at Raeren for an endless number of convents and monasteries. Illustrious personages, abbots and priors, bishops, and even cardinals, connected with these convents, did not disdain to order from the potter jugs or vases stamped with their armorial bearings, and to give to the modest pot of clay a place on their lordly tables by the side of the gold tankard. Many emblazoned and costly specimens made for the clergy—mostly the masterpieces of their makers—are still found in large numbers, and to many of them we shall have occasion to refer in good time. By the number of countries and provinces represented by the medallions, they show a commercial connection extending over all Flanders and Germany.

Let us not forget to record, while we are on this topic, the good understanding maintained, a little later on, between the chapter of St. Lambert of Liege, and their neighbours, the potters of the Walloon country. It was indeed the worthy canons who, trying to raise the level of an otherwise inartistic manufacture, caused to be executed nearly all the armored ware, and most of the best class pieces, ever produced at Bouffloux. We should indeed have a long list to draw were we to enumerate the less significant instances of a particular pot works, started away from great manufacturing centres, and kept up principally through the patronizing agency of the local convent.

MOVING within the narrow bounds of a close suburb, with as little latitude as strict hierarchy and stringent legislation would leave to individual enterprise, the potters of the Aulgasse formed a large family or clan, the constitution of which approached very nearly to that of their friends and patrons the monks of the Abbey; an exceptional state of things even in these times of exclusive castes and social impediments. Each potter was also an agriculturist, and had his little plot of land, which the time allotted for leisure by the statutes amply allowed him to cultivate. In this manner they bettered their lot materially. They grew wine and corn, and cash not being always abundant, they could make their payments in kind; corn and wine having legal currency in the place. The potters mixed very little with their fellow-citizens except on public festivities, when they took precedence of all other bodies; and in the fulfilment of some civic duties, such as military service, to which, like all other burghesses, they were bound in case of emergency. The town kept no regular soldiers up to the first years of the sixteenth century. It was a rare occurrence for a master to seek a wife outside the precincts of the old quarter; brought up in the trade, the widow was generally able, if the husband happened to die before her, to continue the business. Consequently the practice of the craft remained confined to a very limited number of families; looking over the registers we find the same names appearing over and over again during hundreds of years. It could not obviously be otherwise, since the masters' sons alone were allowed to learn the trade and, after they had duly served their time of probation, to set up in business. A master without children, who wanted to adopt as heir and successor a nephew or close relation, might do so with the sanction of the council, but on condition that the youth should henceforth assume the name of his adoptive father. We can therefore follow through the records of the Guild the long pedigree of each family; and not only do we become acquainted with the names of the leading manufacturers, but we also learn those of their more modest compeers. Yet we remain completely in the dark as to the share each particular man took in the improvement of the craft, and as to any point by which it would be possible to discriminate between the works of the most celebrated master and those of his least important competitors. The marks and initials, so plentiful on the Siegburg ware, bring us no assistance in this respect. Hardly any of them tally with the names given in full in the registers, and an exhaustive study of the lists obliges us to acknowledge, to our disappointment, that monograms are, as a rule, only merchants' marks, or the initials of an unknown model-maker, and not those of the potter. In other places we might depend upon some specimens being found inscribed with the full name of the maker to serve us as a guide towards the identification of all similar work, but at Siegburg signed examples have so rarely turned up that we cannot expect to obtain much information through such means.

Dornbush, while giving the transcription of several lists of names, acknowledges at the same time that they have been of little use to him in his endeavours to identify the actual works of the various masters. Only in very few cases do the initials marked on the ware happen to agree with the names found on the register; even then, nothing tells us that we are right in associating unreservedly those names with the pieces bearing corresponding initials. The following examples may be taken as the less problematic instances of these speculative attributions.

Monograms where the letter K is seen in conjunction with other letters, such as P.K., C.K., etc., may represent the different members of the Knütgen family—the most important and numerous amongst the Siegburg potters. We have seen that, in 1427, one of their ancestors is mentioned in a deed of gift as “Knuytgin figulus”; from generation to generation they continued to hold a prominent position in the Guild, in connection with which we find at all times many masters of the name. One Christianus Knütgen has signed in full—a very rare occurrence—a work of his hand, discovered in the excavations, and a fragment of which, embossed with the name in large Roman letters, is now in the possession of Burgomaster Thewalt, of Cologne. It is of yellowish white ware, thickly glazed, and adorned with neat little figures of Renaissance style, combined with floriated ornaments in the pure German Gothic taste. The ware is white, and the reliefs are clouded over with flowing azure blue. By the side of the maker's name stands that of Tringen Vinckelst, which we may take as the name of his wife. From the association of these two names we may infer that the piece was intended as a family heirloom, presented to his bride by the gallant potter, perhaps on their wedding day. What remains of it tells of a special work, which, if whole, would perhaps have been unsurpassed for beauty and finish of detail. Evidently no pains had been spared to make it worth being preserved as a lasting testimony of the conjugal devotion and professional ability of its maker. The date, if ever there was one upon it, is missing; but on a pint, with the marriage feast of Cana, dated 1568, we find the initials C. K., probably standing for Christian Knütgen. By comparing the style of both specimens, we should say that the fragment is by many years the earlier of the two. Proud as he was to affix his name in full letters to this most valued sample of his workmanship, Christian Knütgen was never again tempted, any more than his colleagues, to do more than sign with his initials any of the articles, whether rich or ordinary, which he made daily for the trade.

On many occasions we come across the names of different members of the same family. One of them, Bertram Knödgen, deserves a special mention, as having settled in the land of Wied, where he became the founder of the stoneware industry at Grenzhausen and Höhr.

I. V. and H. V. may represent the masters Johan and Hans Vlach (or Flach), who signed the convention regarding the sale of ware in the Oberland in 1564. No less than six masters bearing the same name also signed the same document.

Hans Higler, one of the prominent masters, who worked in 1570 and following years, may be recognized, it is said, in the mark H. H., found on many subjects, viz.: The History of the Prodigal Son, The Annunciation, The Crucifixion, The Resurrection, A Peasant Dance, The Good Shepherd, a bust of Phillip II. of Spain, the Imperial arms, and many other escutcheons. But, on the other hand, we know of a schnelle, or pint, embossed with King David, St. Helena, and King Artus, which bears the name of Hans Haiv in full; to the same individual, whether he was the maker or simply the merchant, might then also be referred all the pieces bearing the initials H. H.

Z, which makes part of certain monograms, may stand for Zeimans or Simon, also one of the leading families, mentioned in connection with the trade as early as 1500.

O, accompanied with other letters, may mean some of the Omians, whose name, spelt sometimes Oem Johan, or Uncle Johan, appears for the first time in 1487.

But it would be idle to linger long over these doubtful speculations, and in contrasting the Siegburg ware with that of Raeren, where each piece of importance was stamped with the signature in full or with the initials of its maker. We may conclude that very little importance can be attached to any "*sigle*" or sign whatever, which could in other centres be taken as a potter's mark.

Within the above pages we have tried to present in mere outline a succinct history of the abbatial town and of its artistic Guild, also a brief sketch of the conditions under which the potters lived and worked under the patronage of their abbot, and the stringent rules of their statutes; and we had, to our regret, to omit many of the accumulated facts and circumstantial particulars contained in the monograph we owe to the successful researches of Abbé Dornbush. We advise the reader, whose interest may have been awakened by our imperfect narration, to revert to the source from which we have derived most of our information, and he will easily find means of supplying our shortcomings.

Following the order we intend to adopt in all the succeeding chapters, we shall now proceed to study the ware in itself and for itself. First, we shall consider it with regard to its general characteristics; then, choosing for description some typical specimens of different styles and periods, we shall attempt to draw, pieces in hand, such inferences as will enable us to trace the course of the art through its development and decline. By means of these examples, and the observations they can suggest, we may expect to arrive at a knowledge unobtainable through the perusal of the lengthiest and most authentic documents.



Figs. 36 39. SIEGBURG EARLY WARE. After Dornbush.

§ II. THE WARE.

WE have already had occasion to observe that, in every locality where stoneware was subsequently to be manufactured, the earthenware, brittle and porous in substance, either unglazed, or varnished with a soft lead glaze, had been for centuries the precursor of the improved pottery fired "in stone," or, in other words, partly vitrified in the mass. At Siegburg exceptionally (a fact curious enough to be insisted upon at the risk of repeating ourselves) this mode of high firing seems to go back as far as the very first appearance of the potter and his art in the region. Dig as deep in the soil as one may, so long as fragments of pots are found they all exhibit the same qualities of hardness, sonority, and semi-vitrification which distinguish the "*Grès Cérames*" or stoneware.

Layer upon layer, the hand of the pot-maker has everywhere let fall speaking vouchers of his permanent occupation of the land; and now, upturning bed after bed the *débris* left untouched since the day they were thrown away as worthless, we bring to light in their proper order the successive periods of manufacture, and are enabled to realize the improvements and modifications by which they are each characterized.

For this by no means small assistance to our researches we are indebted to one of the regulations of the Guild, which all potters had to conform with. The refuse of the pot works, the imperfect pieces condemned to be destroyed, were not carried away at any time, or thrown on any spot each master might have chosen. Periodically the council settled on which place they should be deposited, and fixed the day when the removal was to be effected. The deep trenches left after the clay had been abstracted were generally utilized for that purpose. So the refuse accumulated on the same

spot; the loads shot down in one year covering the heaps cast there the year before; and this went on until the excavation was completely filled. Strict watch was kept over the ground, lest some pilfering stranger might come and overhaul the heaps in search of ornamental fragments that might be appropriated and made use of as ready-made models. The same precaution was observed by the old potters of Staffordshire for the disposal of their broken ware, which was always carted away at night to some distant place.

We are lost in speculation as to the probable antiquity of the pottery lying most deeply buried beneath the thick covering heaped upon it by the superimposed leavings of untold generations. We cannot accept without reserve the opinion of Dornbush, that nothing of what has yet been found can be considered anterior to the thirteenth century. We do not see why there should have been any interruption between the Roman "*figulus*," who implanted the art of turning and baking the clay in Rhineland, and the native "*Eulner*" who succeeded him. Much of what the soil gives back to us must necessarily belong to that intermediate period.

Of all the chapters of Ceramic history, the one relating to mediæval times is the most hazy and unsatisfactory; to pronounce, in the present state of our knowledge, between a specimen of the thirteenth century and another which may be its elder by several centuries, is almost an impossibility. On these rudimentary shapes, without any kind of decoration to give us the assistance of a well-defined style, it is rash to decide; all attribution rests, after all, on supposition alone. The diggings have been so far confined to the Aulgasse quarter; at a short distance from that place the result might be different, and works of a decided Roman origin might be discovered. But even taking for granted that the small vases found at the bottom of trenches are not older than the thirteenth century, this would still leave a very early beginning to the stoneware manufacture of Siegburg.

In figs. 36—39, placed at the head of this chapter, we have a good average representation of the most ancient pottery found in the Aulgasse. All that lies at that depth is of coarse make, brown or dark grey in colour, unglazed, and devoid of any attempt at ornamentation except some occasional rough knobs, beads, or clumsily incised lines. They are, with slight variations in profiles and proportion, of small size, of the urn or jar form, wide-mouthed, and without feet or handles. The example here given illustrates sufficiently what we have just said about their lack of special features; and unless coins or other precise credentials are conjointly discovered,—and we do not know of any find of such a description having ever taken place in connection with the accumulated refuse of the potters,—nothing warrants us in ascribing them to any fixed historical epoch. Were we to judge only by comparison, they are so like in appearance

the votive vases found in the tombs of the ancient Franks and Teutons, that we might be tempted—ranging all under the same head—to consider them as belonging to the Carlovingian era. After this precursory period, without limitation as to antiquity, we find the first steps towards improvement well marked by striking modifications in the manufacture, no longer rough and clumsy; and in the shapes, more practically and elegantly designed and made, of articles henceforth to be applied to the many requirements of the household. We see the first example of a real “jug”; its elongated body is surmounted by a graceful neck, it is garnished with one or more handles, and stands upon a spreading foot which bears all round its rim the impress of the thumb of its maker—the jug, in short, of the regular pattern, such as will be reproduced, side by side with the ever-varying forms of vases and pots, with scarcely any alteration for hundreds of years to come. This brings us to the first years of the fifteenth century, according to the classification of Dornbush; but, as far as we are concerned, we think that such pieces as those just described, and all their congeners, might, with all plausibility, be placed far back into the previous century. Most of them show no traces of glazing; but unglazed ware was always manufactured at Siegburg. Their tints vary from dark red to brown, and from dusky grey to black, according to the kind of clay employed and the chances of firing. The ware remains no longer plain, but shows a pretence to embellishment; the devices are still very modest in their scope, nothing more than a central rosette made of raised dots, or a strip of clay coiled round the shape and indented with the point of a tool. A very curious pot decorated in this manner was dug up in Cologne during the building of the Wallraf Richard Museum, and figures in Dornbush's work.

Not until towards the end of the fifteenth century do we see stoneware moving boldly on the way to the rapid improvements which resulted in the refined and thoroughly perfected style of artistic designs, and faultless methods of manufacture, we so justly admire in the productions of the middle of the following century. The clay used by the potter of the third period is fine and well-prepared; it becomes lighter in tint, although we do not yet meet with any specimen of pure white, nor with any traces of salt-glazing. Another piece, also given by Dornbush as an example of that early improved ware, is adorned with three faces in high relief, of very fine character, although still of very rude make, and of coarse clay; it shows, nevertheless, some taste on the part of the maker, who has evidently borrowed the elements of its decoration from some admired carving of wood or metal. This example, again, comes from the excavations made while building the museum at Cologne. The intermediate period, when the ware, although no longer plain and devoid of interesting features, did not yet, however, display the profuse and original materials of ornamentation characterizing so

conspicuously the productions which were soon to follow these imperfect attempts, might be determined by the intervention of minute subjects, figures, or ornaments, borrowed here and there, and made use of without much discrimination, as the only available means of embellishment. No longer satisfied with the traditional grotesque faces, or the strips or lumps of clay twisted or notched, the potter, awakening to the sense of his inferiority, bethought himself of taking moulds from small subjects carved in wood or chased in metal, and obtaining from them clay impressions, easily applied and fixed on the ware. In the case of an exceptional performance, when something out of his usual track was demanded of him, no other way to secure success was open to him than the borrowing of such models as were daily produced by experienced chasers and carvers in the wealthy and luxurious towns of the Rhine. Many examples still remain to illustrate these first steps towards a complete transformation in the art of the stoneware potter. We have in fig. 40 a small pot of that transitory epoch. Arising from meaningless generality, great pains have been taken to make of it an article not of use, but of fancy. A number of rudimentary handles, each furnished with a mobile ring, still made by hand in the old way, but complemented by the application of small figures of a saint holding a cross, acorns and birds, were the means of obtaining the desired effect. Of such pieces whole specimens are rare, but the diggings bring forth many fragments of similarly-shaped vases: the diminutive figures of saints impressed upon them are of pure Gothic style, and of great fineness of treatment, as though they had been taken from objects of gold or silver. Perhaps—as there is little likelihood of the potter having many opportunities of casting moulds on the valuable works of the silversmith—we had better say that he has found models for his figures of saints on the pious medals finely struck in lead or brass which, through convents and churches, were largely distributed among the people. We may ask ourselves whether it was by appropriations of the same kind that the stoneware pots sent in 1489 to the Duchess of Berg, then residing at Niedigen, had been decorated? We are prompted to believe it, for the usual kind of ware made at the time—judging from the coarse specimens yielded by the excavations—was not by any means worthy



Fig. 40. TRÈVES MUSEUM. Height, 11 in.

of being offered to a princess. Through similar means alone could the set of vessels intended for this presentation have been completed and beautified sufficiently to be regarded as a valuable gift sure to be accepted by a noble lady. We cannot say, however, that this supposition can be substantiated by any known instance of very elaborate work being made at that early date by the stoneware potter. The record of these presents makes us surmise that, exceptionally, and by some means or other, the ware could be brought to a degree of excellence of which we can form no idea from the pieces of that period so far known to us. In all contemporary specimens we find little pretence at ornamentation, still less at beauty; the progress already accomplished in all

other branches of art industries had not yet been shared by the potter's art, which was still in its slumber, although ready to awake to the sense of its own capabilities.

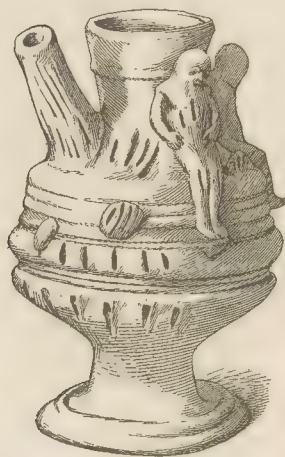


Fig. 41. Thewalt Coll. Height, 6 in.

A peculiar sort of red ware is commonly found amongst the productions belonging to the period extending between the fourteenth to the first years of the sixteenth century. The vessels, clumsily formed by hand without the assistance of the wheel, out of a coarse and unprepared red clay, are mostly of the urn and cup shape; they are not covered with any glaze, but their surface is slightly shining through the action of the high temperature to which they were submitted in the firing. Some rare examples come out of the general range of plain shapes, and are fashioned in the form of animals, or adorned with uncouth figures. Fig. 41 may be counted amongst the earliest specimens

of this ware. The statutes of 1516 speak of the "Roitkroichen," or red jugs, and from this we may infer that at the beginning of the sixteenth century they were still extensively manufactured. We do not know for what reason the red ware was so much appreciated, unless it were on account of its colour; but when it ceased to be manufactured at Siegburg, where it was replaced by the white stoneware, the potters of Dreyhausen, near Coblenz, made these red jugs their speciality, and continued to make them in the peculiar shapes originated at Siegburg (see fig. 32).

The tints vary from Indian red and violet to dark purple. These gradations of colour are due to the hazards of an ill-regulated mode of firing, which affected in different degrees the oxide of iron contained in the clay. As the ware in the oven

was not protected from direct contact with the flames, its outward colour was greatly affected according to the place it occupied.

The difficulties connected with the building of a perfect oven were never completely overcome at Siegburg, and even at the time when workmanship had attained to its highest point of excellence, if we have to regret any shortcomings in the ware, it is attributable to faulty firing. Bright patches of pinkish or orange colour are often noticed on some of the best pieces made of white clay; these accidents are attributable to the fact that the material was never completely free from a certain percentage of iron, which was developed by the flames under certain circumstances. Bad firing can also account for other imperfections or blemishes, often observed on the highest class of ware, such as the strange inequality of the glazing. One piece may be on one side almost deprived of glaze, while on the other it trickles down in heavy drops and accumulates in thick waves at the base. Well-constructed ovens and a better management of the fires would have remedied all this.

Although most of the types of the dark red ware indicate a very remote period, we find associated with them, and made of the same material, a few shapes belonging unquestionably to a much more advanced stage of manufacture. Prominent amongst them are the small balustre jugs with a tundish-shaped top, with or without their unlimited number of handles—for centuries afterwards the favourite form of the Siegburg potter.

Black pots, made of the same clay, are also found in association with the red ware; but as they are of rare occurrence, they may be considered as occasional cases, rather than as representatives of a kind of pottery regularly manufactured. On this point, however, it would be difficult to pronounce definitely, because in all places where the making of stoneware has once been centralized we generally find a small number of black jugs amongst the oldest productions, and it may be that their use was more general than we are led to believe by the odd specimens which have come down to us.

As soon as the white clay began to be generally employed, and the ways of firing it sufficiently improved, the style of manufacture may be said to have been finally settled. This occurred, according to all appearances, about the second quarter of the sixteenth century, and from that time forth very few alterations took place in the making of the Siegburg stoneware. This is also the date of the appearance of the first salt-glazed specimens; but the white potters never seem to have been at much trouble to take full advantage of this improvement, and they never mastered completely its application; consequently they always preferred, for their best works, the unglazed state, which leaves all their sharpness to the details of the embossed reliefs; and to the last they remained partial to pure biscuit. It is not unworthy of attention to notice that the earliest attempts at imparting to the biscuit a vitreous covering were not

directed towards obtaining it by means of common salt. Many ancient specimens testify to the fact that ordinary lead ore was first and alone employed on white stoneware. The example given on fig. 42, represents one of the early types we find enamelled with a thick coating of "galena," or ordinary pottery glaze.

Siegburg was a particularly well selected place for the making of stoneware. White clay in thick strata lay all over the region. This clay is a plastic marl, highly refractory, and even in the natural state of an extraordinary homogeneity, free from stones or other foreign particles. The kind found in the woods of Lomarer was of very superior quality, as it was, however, difficult of extraction, it could not be used for cheap articles, but only for the best class of goods.

In the same ratio as the tint of the ware gets nearer to pure white, the relief ornamentation gets finer in design and in neatness of execution. The clay, selected with great care, is better and better refined and manipulated; the ways of fashioning it are perfected in every detail; consummate skill presides over all the operations of throwing and turning the shapes, not that these are ever made smooth, as scraping with a tool would make them; on the contrary, the workman is very particular about leaving fresh and untouched the concentric rings that his finger has regularly and smoothly marked from top to bottom. Forms are getting tall and elegant, and their outlines are gracefully profiled, each part being separated by a sharp moulding. Already



Fig. 42. WHITE WARE GLAZED WITH GALENA.
Coll. A. Figdor. Height, 6 in.

the workman allows his imagination to run loose upon all kinds of fanciful novelties, and ingenious tracteries and applied accessories of his own contrivance. He does not place under contribution any longer chasings or carvings of metal, stone, or wood, and disdains using any more undue appropriations. Thenceforth the dies and moulds he requires are cut by his own hands, and subjects are made in the style and of the size best suited to the particular piece he intends to decorate.

His first attempts were directed towards the cutting of Gothic tracteries, for which he found his models in the intricate and ever-varied details of the architecture of his country; notwithstanding the lack of testimony to that effect, we can assume, from the state of the diggings, that such patterns preceded by many years the introduction of historical scenes and figure subjects; these latter, moreover, are so well stamped with the taste of the Renaissance period that they could not be ranked by any means

among early productions. We can ascribe approximatively to the year 1530 the first appearance on the white ware of friezes and panels containing subjects with personages, and put back to the second half of the century the moment when they began to be preferred to any other kind of ornamentation for the higher class of vases and vessels.

A remarkable drinking pot of small dimensions, of the shape common to the generality of pots of that size manufactured at Raeren, but very rarely found at Siegburg (fig. 43), may represent the first successful application of figure subjects to the white ware. Its elegant design is quite unique in character; in perfection of carving it is second to none. So neat are the reliefs, so bright and smooth is the texture of the clay, that it brings to our mind the recollection of some ivory carvings of the same period. Indeed we cannot help fancying that imitating one of these ivories has been the aim the potter has striven to attain. Round the cylindrical shape, eight cupids in graceful attitudes are drinking, dancing, and playing musical instruments. Shall we say that we do not accept without reservation the attribution of that piece to Siegburg manufacture? It is, we think, mainly grounded upon the fineness and the light colour of the clay; but the same whitish tint and fine texture are certainly not foreign to many undoubted examples of Raeren ware. If we look at it from another point of view, its heavy shape, and the full and rounded modelling of



Fig. 43. Thewalt Coll.

the small figures, as well as the quality of the glaze, will be found in favour of a Flemish rather than a German origin. But we shall bow for the present to the verdict of those who are better able than ourselves to give an opinion on this point, and accord to this perplexing specimen its place in this chapter. The very numerous coats of arms impressed on the Siegburg stoneware may also be said to have made their appearance at a comparatively late period; not a single escutcheon is found on the early specimens; but this explains itself clearly enough. Although there was in Germany, during the Middle Ages, a superabundant use of armorial bearings upon all articles intended for the upper classes, the pottery was at first made for the people only, and had no occasion to bear distinctive marks. Consequently it was only when the ware had been sufficiently perfected, and made beautiful enough with costly workmanship to be

attract the attention of the noble and wealthy, that coats of arms made their appearance, and for that reason we must only look for them on late specimens. Moreover by their style we could only with difficulty ascribe to any of the escutcheons which we have found impressed on the white ware any earlier date. Not one amongst them recalls the stiff and well-defined elements of the heraldic canons of the fifteenth century; each shield, on the contrary, cut out, curled, and convoluted in every possible way, bears the unmistakable impress of the taste prevailing towards the middle of the sixteenth. The presence of a coat of arms assumes, consequently, a great importance on the Siegburg manufacture—it fixes accurately the age of the most richly adorned specimens with which they are always associated. An emblazoned vase can have no connection with the vast amount of pottery buried in the subjacent strata of the soil; it belongs to the late period of manufacture, and marks the acme of perfection.

WE have hinted higher up at the peculiar jugs with a tundish neck and pinched foot, which may be called of balustre shape, found amongst the early examples of red ware. This shape has the rare recommendation of not having been made anywhere else, and belongs in proper to Siegburg, where it originated, and where it was, with evident partiality, repeated without interruption as long as stoneware-making flourished in the place. The new processes of decoration applied to it sufficed at all times to give variety to the form, which remained almost the same in all cases. These characteristic vases enable us to retrace the main phases through which the ware passed, from the early attempt to the perfect work, as is demonstrated by the four examples of the same type, figs. 43—47. They are well worth our examination, as embodying the greatest part of the observations we can make on the peculiarities and merits of the Siegburg stoneware.

Obviously derived from the architectural balustre, these pieces had been so formed with the intent of recalling a stone pillar, and so deserve unreservedly the name of "stone pottery." This coincidence might be attributed to the fact that the first sculptor engaged by the potters to contrive and design the shapes of that newly-improved ware was one of the clever stone-cutter artists who assisted in the embellishment of the churches and public buildings, and of whom there was such a numerous school at Cologne and other cities of the Rhine. Certainly nothing could have better suggested and deserved the appellation of "stone pottery" than these singular small vases made of a light grey clay, which does not require the covering of a vitreous glaze to render it impervious to water, and of a texture sufficiently hard and coarse to resemble closely the grain of natural stone. The way in which they are cut into, moulded, filleted, fluted, and carved in the mass, still adds to the likeness, and one might well mistake them, at

first sight, for objects cut out of the material they imitate. Let us compare them with any other kind of earthenware; in all other cases we shall find the raised details of the ornamentation softly rounded by the supple finger of the modeller, while here, on the contrary, it is as though the hard substance had been roughly hewn by a hand plying chisel and mallet in the fashion habitual to the stone-cutter. This would by itself support the assumption that the cradle of that special kind of pottery, which from its earliest appearance had received the name of "stoneware," must be looked for at Siegburg and nowhere else. Under the same name a brown variety was most successfully manufactured in several other places (we mean the brown stone of Raeren and Frecken); but although produced under the same conditions, or nearly



Fig. 44.

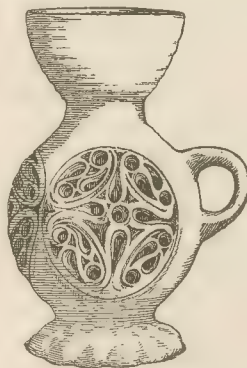


Fig. 45.

so, as the white ware, it was never recognized at Siegburg as legitimate "stoneware," and none of the masters there ever attempted to make it.

In all probability the brown ware—at least in its perfected state—came only second in the field, as a competitor with a successful speciality. The lack of the right sort of clay, or perhaps a lucky coincidence in the hazards of firing turned to good account by a sagacious and enterprising craftsman, may have led to the acceptance of the handsome brown colour as a substitute for the unobtainable white. As a matter of course, these dark productions received the name of the original "stoneware" merely on account of the similarity existing between the hardness of both their substances, and notwithstanding the difference in colour, which took away much of the correctness of the expression.

On the first jug, fig. 44, has been graved by hand, with a bold stroke of a sharp tool, a many pointed and acutely cut out Gothic-looking leaf, which, springing from the

foot, spreads and coils itself all round the shape. Similar foliages serve as unique means of decoration on a large number of pieces of various calibres, from the smallest spice pot to the largest water pitcher of the balustre form; and, as is always the case with all freehand workmanship, never exactly alike in their dispositions.

Our second figure (45) is one of those small puzzle jugs which elicit the wonder of anyone who sees their curious contrivance for the first time; the perforated sides, apparently pierced through, seem to make the vase unfit to contain any liquid. But a nearer inspection discloses that the outer shell, into which the tracery has been bored, is only the covering of the real receptacle. Were we to ground our estimation on its pure Gothic style,—a geometrical pattern copied from some oriel window; one, perhaps, of the church of the Abbey,—we might be tempted to point out this example as a work of the Middle Ages; but we know by experience that little reliance can be placed on the style of its decoration to determine the age of a piece of pottery, and that at Siegburg—whether they be ogival or Renaissance in character—we must refer all those showing an attempt at ornamentation to a period not earlier than the sixteenth century. It is unnecessary to observe that the Gothic art has long persisted and prevailed in Germany: long after it had completely disappeared from the works of other countries, it continued to be honoured by a constant application, and to show itself still conspicuous and paramount in the medley mixture of heterogeneous elements successively introduced in architecture and decoration, in compliance with the exigencies of the changes in public taste.

More than any other the next jug (fig. 46) recalls to the mind the sculptured pillars so profusely resorted to in the German architecture of the sixteenth century. The same arcatures, the same gadroons carved over the body of the balustre, which ends, bottomwards, in a slender spindle and rests upon the regular pedestal, whilst the top expands into a sort of well-rounded cup forming the requisite capital. One or more handles were later on added to the shape; but these of our present examples are devoid of anything that would impair their architectural figure.

On fig. 47 a diamond-shaped diaper covers all the central part; the imbricated lozenges, sharply sunk with a steel blade, catch the glimmer of the light on their acute angles in a manner that no moulded pattern could ever equal. This mode of cutting at sharp angles into the clay was constantly taken advantage of, as contrasting most brilliantly with the raised subjects employed conjointly. Here a small medallion, pressed separately, has been added after the cutting-in had taken place. It bears a merchant's monogram, surmounted by the enigmatic 4 and the date 1588. Amongst the early balustre vases must be classed the lofty candlesticks, always affecting the same type on a much larger scale. Their height exceeds by far the largest productions

of Siegburg. Articles of such important size and remarkable workmanship must always have commanded the consideration of their possessor, and many of them have, for that reason, been preserved to us. Nevertheless, we must not infer from the number still in existence that such elaborate and costly performances were often repeated; all of them bear indubitable marks of having been exceptionally perfected with the view of being presented to some noble patron.

In every respect the candlestick was the masterpiece of its maker. It was destined, on festive occasions, to be placed in the centre of the dining-table, where, admired by all, it answered the double purpose of bearing the lights, and of containing in its vast capacity a good supply of wine, flowing through a metal tap fixed at the base. We are



Fig. 46.

BALUSTRE-SHAPE JUGS.



Fig. 47.

disposed to believe that some of these lofty vases must have made part of the yearly offering of earthen pots and wax the Guild was bound to render into the hands of the abbot as a token of respect and loyalty. On certain occasions,—when, for instance, the year had been a prosperous one; or, when after a vintage good and abundant, the sale of jars and flagons had been largely increased in consequence; or else in moments of difficulty, when the necessity arose of obtaining the grant of a special favour from the abbot,—instead of the jugs of regular pattern or the common wax candles brought under ordinary circumstances, it was decided that a wonderful vase, half fountain, half candelabra, should be offered, regardless of its cost. The making of it was intrusted to one of the cleverest hands, and no trouble was spared to render it worthy of this special purpose. The day having arrived, the wax candles were placed in the sockets, and the

masterpiece was carried in state to the Abbey upon a velvet covered hand-truck. It formed the central trophy, and contributed not a little to enhance the splendour of

the procession of the members of the craft mustered for the solemnity.

A fine example, the best perhaps of all known candlesticks, is preserved in the Trèves Museum; the applied reliefs with which it is decorated are plentiful, well arranged, and of great sharpness and delicacy. Another in the South Kensington Museum comes only second to it. Both have the arms of the empire, the double-headed eagle, and those of the Duke of Cleves-Berg, patron and protector of the Guild. Both are here represented on figs. 48 and 49. In the Museum of Antiquities at Brussels another specimen, in perfect preservation, is preserved, with bands of silver elegantly chased. In the collection of P. Leven, of Cologne, was also a candlestick of similar shape and proportion, but offering the peculiarity of a hollow pipe let into the handles, and making each candle socket communicate with the bottom of the vase, in the manner of the ordinary puzzle jug. In order to drink out of it, one had first to take out the candle, and then draw the liquor through the tube.

We have said that the balustre vase, although one of the first imagined and indulged in by the Siegburg potter, remained at all times his favourite shape. By the side of the specimens described above—some of which represent the oldest period of decorated white stoneware—we shall place a few others of the same type, showing that, with the excep-



Fig. 48. CANDLESTICK. Trèves Museum.
Height, 36 in.

tion of the affixed ornamentation in relief, it had undergone in later times but very little modification.

Identical in its general outline, the adjunction of a large number of loops, stuck all over the body, after a manner that we have had the occasion to notice in one of the earliest fabrics, gives to the large jug (fig. 50) quite a peculiar look. Labour has been lavished upon it in impressed and raised work, and two appropriate medallions placed on the shoulder, between the two larger handles, complete the scheme of decoration; these medallions are impressed, one with the coat of arms of the unknown nobleman to whom the vase was presented, and the other with the figure of his patron saint, St. Sebastian. By its artistic treatment it equals the finest piece of white stoneware, and we may take it as having been one of the choicest performances of one of the cleverest masters. Comparing it with specimens of the same order, we may, in the absence of an inscribed date, ascribe it to the last years of the sixteenth century.

An almost identical piece, the jug of the Frohne collection, reproduced on fig. 51, will serve us as a good authority; although undated, it bears an inscription which fixes the time of its making:

LOTHARIUS . DEI . GRAT . ARCHISP . TREVER .
S . R . I . PER GALL . ARCHICAN . PRI . ELECT.—
"Lotharius dei gratia archiepiscopus Trever—
Sacri romani imperii per Galliam archicancellarius
princeps elector."

Lothario of Metternich, whose armorial bearings are represented on the front of the vase, was Archbishop of Trèves from 1599 to 1623, the piece could not therefore be anterior to the first years of the seventeenth century. The Abbey of Siegburg had a provostship established at Trèves, and no doubt it was through the good offices of the monks that the potters were favoured with a special commission, which must have been, as a matter of course, executed with all possible care and in the best style.

For a still later instance of the same balustre shape we shall again refer the reader to Dornbush's work, where one of them is figured (Plate III., No. 6), bearing the date 1632, the very year in which the town was destroyed by the Swedish army.

A general remark to be made about the selection of shapes for so long adhered to

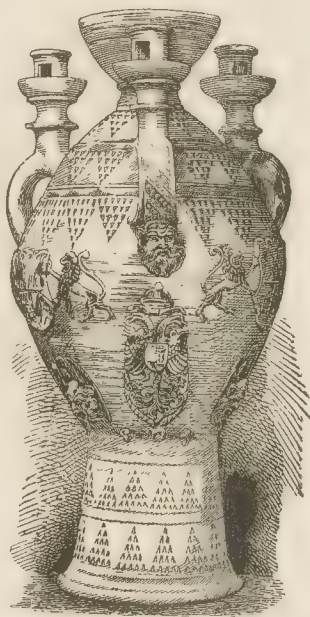


Fig. 49. CANDLESTICK. South Kensington Museum.

by the Siegburg potter, is their practical simplicity. Limited for the most part to those which can be formed on the wheel by the thrower, they depended for pleasantness and variety on the happy combinations of incised patterns and applied reliefs. The percentage of subjects in the round—either pressed or modelled by hand—was always very small. In early times it consists principally of small figures or statuettes in high relief, the front part of which is given by a mould of one single

shell, while the back is roughly made by hand.

In that manner were produced Virgins and saints, in which an important trade was carried on. Such figures were bought eagerly by the faithful at the gates of the churches, and carried away by pilgrims as mementoes of their visit to a holy shrine. Coarse and vulgar articles, to be sold for a trifle to the million, they have shared the fate of all cheap and common things, and have almost all disappeared, although at one time they were found in every house or cottage all over Germany. The excavations alone have, in many places, restored to us such a large number of earthen figures in great variety, that we cannot underrate the important part these pious simulachres played in the religious practices of the faithful in certain holy spots, and in connection with some special feasts and ceremonies of the Church. Amongst many others we shall mention those dug up at Nuremberg, which are of great interest on account of their evident antiquity. Whether



Fig. 50. BALUSTRE JUG. Felix Coll.
Height, 16½ in.

they were the product of local pot works, or were sent over from Siegburg or any other manufacturing centre, we do not however pretend to decide. They are made of fine white clay, so as to resemble the wax figures which, at a higher cost, were used for the same purpose. We give here two curious examples of these figures for the sake of comparison with the Siegburg ware, to which, owing to the quality of the clay, they bear a close likeness (figs. 52, 53).

One represents a warrior, wearing the hood and coat of mail of the thirteenth century; a hole bored through this curious object indicates that it was to be affixed to a wax candle or to the railings of a shrine. The other is a full-length figure of a

Virgin, provided in the centre with a cavity of circular form, and of the size of a small coin. We recognize in this one the votive figure in use during mediæval times. At the funeral ceremonies they were deposited on the coffin by the parents and friends of the deceased, and the coin they contained was retained as fee by the Church. The pagan tradition of surrounding the corpse with earthen images survived in this Christian custom. Similarly when a marriage was solemnized, the assistants offered to the Church small vases full of corn, and containing also a coin as an omen of good luck. One of these vases has already been represented by fig. 7. The identified Siegburg figures of Virgins and saints do not possess the peculiarity of the central receptacle for a small coin—the antique observances had long been foregone, and they were made only to be kept in the household, or presented to children as objects of piety.

With them must be classed the small drinking vessels—bell-shaped goblets, having no feet to stand upon, and which had in consequence to be emptied as soon as filled, and upturned on the table. They are surmounted by a characteristic figure of a drinker, partly made by hand, with the assistance of a single shell mould for the front part of the subject. Two of them are here reproduced on figs. 54 and 55. Such curious relics are only to be found in the excavations, and when discovered in the soil very seldom turn up in such perfect condition.

In the possession of Mr. Hetjens, of Aix-la-Chapelle, to whom they belong, can also be seen a most elaborate group of figures in half round, of the same class of workmanship, representing the Last Judgment. We can but take it as an

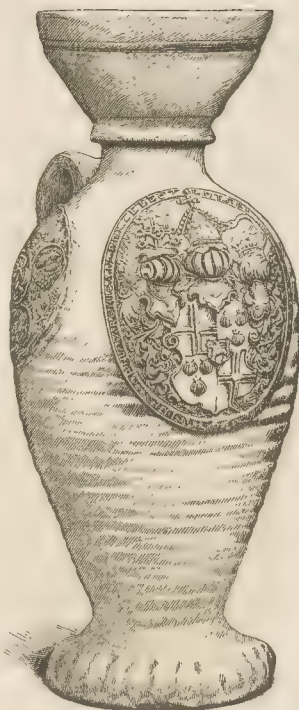


Fig. 51. JUG WITH THE ARMS OF
METTERNICH. Frohne Coll.
Height, 11½ in.



Figs. 52, 53. VERY EARLY FIGURES OF
WHITE CLAY.
Nuremberg Museum.

exceptional instance confirming the rule of the scarcity of such oddities, the freak of an individual fantasy, and by no means as a regular item of production. We shall not attempt to describe the multitudes of figures and varied details crowded up amongst rocks and clouds, which form an unshapely heap, more remarkable for its strange and uncouth disposition than for any artistic merit.

The random classification we have been obliged to adopt—the chronological, or indeed any other order having been found impossible to follow—brings now under our



Fig. 54. Hetjens Coll.
Height, 9 in.



Fig. 55. DRINKING VESSEL. Hetjens Coll.
Height, 9 in.

notice one of the most refined and perfect works of the artistic potter of Siegburg (Plate II.). Two conspicuous handles figuring dragons or nondescript animals mark its place among pieces built up with parts modelled in the round.

Admirable in all respects, the ring bottle from the collection of Dr. Albert Figdor, of Vienna, departs entirely from the then accredited notions. It is the creation of some anonymous master, who has for once indulged in a composition very different from the usual run of the oft-repeated types of his brother craftsmen. Is it for his own gratification, as an ambitious and spirited man, fond of his art, that he has thus endeavoured to leave the beaten track? All tends to make us surmise as much. It is seldom that amongst this heraldic pottery, as one might almost call the Siegburg



PLATE I

stoneware, we meet with a work of such important scope which does not exhibit any armorial bearings. Had it been a presentation piece, dates and initials would not fail to appear in some part to record the fact; of any such signs, however, it is altogether devoid. As to its being one of the articles made for common trade, we could not for an instant entertain the idea. The only remaining supposition is that it is a certificate work, made by a very clever workman with a view to obtaining his mastership.

Although such exceptional objects as hunting bottles in fancy shapes, high candlesticks, or, in a word, all the extra-ornamented vessels which have been preserved to us still in good number, do not appear in the list of goods commonly manufactured, the statutes of 1552 contain however some provisions concerning the making and selling of such works. They were known under the general name of "*Mietwerke*." It is said that a "*miete*" was worth one hundred fine "*beckers*" (mugs or pints). All that was made with a superior style of workmanship, or of larger capacity than the regulation sizes set down in the register as standards of manufacture, belong to that category. Executed only upon order, by special hands, they were not considered as trade goods, but as masterpieces, and their arbitrary price, debated between the parties, might attain to a hundred times the highest figure fixed by the tariffs. Our bottle would certainly have been ranged under that head, and even in our time be valued at a hundred times the price of an ordinary Siegburg bottle. A hollow ring, flattened on its front and inside faces, so as to show better the covering of delicate embossments, and surmounted by a tall cylindrical spout, constitutes the body of the vase. On each side two monsters, half crocodile, half lizard, lend the flowing curves of their vigorous outlines to form handles of surpassing grace and power. Two dragons of smaller dimensions are twisted round the narrow, tapering neck. Two masks with human features of antique character connect the central ring with the neck and the foot.

In harmony of proportion, as well as elegance of contour, the design equals, in our estimation, the boldest and happiest conceptions of the Renaissance art. The clay is not of the best white sort—rather of a drab colour, unequally glazed; the glaze has accumulated on some parts in such thickness as to become almost opaque, and is irradiated with opalized blue tints. Probably thin touches of white tin enamel had been partially applied, of which only faint traces remained after the firing. We regret that our engraving can neither give credit to the harmonious effect of the whole, nor to the delicately raised medallions which adorn all the faces of the ring.

Before dismissing the subject of pieces formed of parts pressed in separate moulds, we shall present here (fig. 56) one of the most striking examples of those rare fabrics:

a group of three owls perched back to back on a small perforated globe standing on a high pedestal. Again a "Mietwerke" or workman's masterpiece, bearing no coat of arms or monogram to indicate any particular destination. All we have said above applies to this group. It is evidently, and above all, a mere ornament, although a light placed

in the inside would permit of its use as a night lamp; in this it fulfilled the condition of utility, seldom lost sight of by the stoneware potter, to whom an art work without a distinct application would have appeared almost nonsensical. The night bird, full of mystery, and emblematic of wisdom and solitude, has often exercised the skill of the mediæval artist. In old pottery of all classes its presentment is the subject of many choice and elaborate works.

Common goods were all plainly thrown on the wheel, handles and spouts being formed by hand, and only in the case of a superior article subsequently embellished by the application of delicate bands of ornaments. The compulsory simplicity of a practical shape, as well as the restricted use of stoneware, did not give scope to great variety. We must recollect that, by its inability to stand any sudden change of temperature, stoneware was limited to the making of wine and beer vessels. Dishes and plates, tureens, and other accessories of the dining-table, are completely unknown at Siegburg.

The list of the different kinds of pots drawn by the council in the prosperous year of 1552, for the guidance of the makers, comprises, however, thirty-two items. We have



Fig. 56. South Kensington Museum.
Height, 10 in.

unfortunately very few means to guide us through that obsolete nomenclature. Nothing is there to tell us which of the forms we have become acquainted with will answer to such names as "Counsellors' pints," "Nuremberg pots," "round work," "white wine jug," and so on, with many other names still more unintelligible. Not only are we unable to identify them severally, but we doubt much whether, by

reckoning the varieties we may take to be pieces of daily manufacture, we could arrive at establishing thirty-two different types. What constituted the staple articles of the trade seem to rest upon the scanty number of models, hardly modified during the successive periods during which they have steadily done duty. These do not, of course, include any of the exceptional objects created by individual fancy, and of which a stray specimen turns up every now and then, to show us that something else was done besides the current items enumerated in the list settled by the council. Small cruet pots, united together in groups of three, intended to contain salts and spices; liquor flasks with long slender necks, and with double-looped handles (figs. 57—59); flower holders and flower pots; diminutive oil bottles or scent flagons; hand-warmers in the shape of a prayerbook, that ladies could carry in their sleeves; drinking vessels of every description, even reproducing chalices and church vases, such as the one figured in Dornbush—all these, and many others, stand apart from the classification we have adopted.

AT the head of all standard shapes must be placed the tall slender pint, the best known perhaps of all Siegburg productions. Made by all makers in enormous quantities, and specially exported by the merchants, they found their way all over Europe. Not one of the first ceramic collections was without a few samples of these representatives of the early white and sharply embossed pottery, which was none the less admired for the mystery which has surrounded their origin and history for so long a time. This pint is still called a "*schnelle*" in German, and under the same name it is also designated on the earliest lists of works. The shape, a tall cylinder, gradually narrowing towards the top, is familiar to all; base and brim are encircled within a few concentric bands, or hoops, the intervening space being devoted to the display of complicated subjects of figures or ornaments in low reliefs. Out of this most convenient receptacle the beer drinker could quaff his favourite liquor, or sipping it leisurely, find the beverage fresh and pleasant to the last drop. The beerhouse pot of this description was of course made of the legal size, but many fancy ones took all possible proportions, from the child's mug to the lofty and capacious tankard, recalling by its magnitude the old cygenetic horn, the pride of the feudal baron. Yet, however long established and time honoured may have been the use of the drinking horn amongst noblemen and soldiers, our *schnelle*, in spite of a certain likeness, was not, we think, derived from it. We find its vulgar prototype in a far more common drinking vessel—the small wooden barrel or mug in use in all cellars and taverns, made by the cooper in the same way as casks, by means of thin staves of wood, secured at the top and bottom by metal or wicker hoops. This antiquated wooden pot offers the true model of the *schnelle*, and the circles moulded on the neck and base

reproduce faithfully the original disposition. In England, in the same times, wooden mugs circled with iron were used everywhere to the exclusion of earthen pots. Jack



Figs. 57, 58. SMALL FLASK. British Museum.

Cade, in "Henry VI.," refers to them when he says: "There shall be in England seven penny loaves sold for one penny; the three-hooped pots shall have ten hoops."



Fig. 59. SMALL FLASK. British Museum.

In all stoneware centres schnelles were manufactured in cheap and costly articles, but only at Siegburg did the shape preserve its primitive character. Its proportions remained tall, slender, and tapering towards the top. This original type was gradually modified everywhere else. At Raeren it soon took the form of a cylinder, still of a good height, but almost vertical; at Grenzhausen it became by degrees wider and lower; while, at last, it was turned into a broad and flat sort of can by the potters of Kreussen.

To enumerate and describe the complete list of emblems and images embossed upon the Siegburg schnelles would afford material for a special work, in itself full of interest, on account of the variegated range of subjects such an iconography would necessarily embrace. Our restricted scheme does not allow us to do more than group them into categories, and insist for one moment upon the few best defined examples we shall select for description.

The religious scenes, as one may expect from the potters of the abbatial town, by far exceed all others in number, principally those taken from the Bible; the New

Testament supplying only a small proportion of the subjects. In all branches of art sacred history was the inexhaustible source whence painters and sculptors drew their inspiration; but here there was a direct cause in the abundance of scriptural designs—the influence of the abbot and of the monks can be traced in their selection. In the many replicas of certain parables, largely predominating over others, more than haphazard choice is noticeable; the teaching they bring under the eye of the drinker contains a moral intended to warn him against the evil consequences of intemperance and dissipation, and particularly against all the vices which follow in the train of drunkenness. One of the best-known patterns, for instance, presents us with allegorical figures of Pride, Lust, and Gluttony, with suitable inscriptions:

DE HOFFARTICHEIT . HOFFART EIN BOSSART . ANNO 1591.

DE UNKVISCHHEIT.

DE GULTICHEIT . GULTICHEIT GLEICH . MANN . EINNER SAS.

"The proud man is an ill-natured one." "Gluttony makes a pig of a man."

It is the voice of the Church penetrating into the drinking tavern; a sound sermon written upon a pint of beer. To the profligate, for instance—he who squanders his riches in the gratification of his desires and the glorification of his vanity—the virtue of charity, and his duties towards the poor, are gently called to mind by a picture of the history of Lazarus and Dives. What subject could convey a more opportune teaching to the forgetfulness of the great and wealthy, and in what better place could it be presented to him than at his festive banquets? Many are the modellers who have, each in his own way, interpreted this same parable on stoneware pots, all treating it with a decided predilection. The unknown "formschneider," F. T., the same artist who has signed with his monogram some of the finest moulds of Siegburg,—amongst others the three scenes of the history of Saul, one of the most remarkable of all *schnelles*,—claims the authorship of the model we have selected for reproduction (fig. 60). Our sketch, we hope, will render unnecessary our descanting upon the high merits of the whole composition and the elegance of design of each figure. It is a work that a master would be proud to acknowledge as his own. It bears the date 1559.

Amongst other *schnelles*, where the same scenes have been represented with different treatment, we must specially mention one of smaller size, hardly inferior in quality to the one figured above. It is due to another anonymous artist, P. K., under which initials it has been thought that the potter *Peter Knutjen* should be recognized. The shape of the *schnelle* being invariably the same in most cases, we have thought it needless to reproduce more than the panels with which they are decorated, and we have also preferred to give it in its development just as it stands on the model or

mould used by the potter; the proof taken out of it was, as we have said, fixed on the shape after having been pressed flat. The moulds are not uncommonly found in the excavations; they are of greater sharpness than any copies, and, when possible, we have drawn our sketch from the mould itself.



Fig. 60. LAZARUS AND DIVES.
From a Schnelle in the Germanic Museum,
Nuremberg.

Ruth and Boaz, Abraham and the Angels, Daniel in the Lion's Den, Solomon, David, Joshua, The Conversion of Saul, Samson and Delila, The Land of Canaan, etc.

From the New Testament: The Annunciation, The Nativity, The Marriage of

The division of the design into compartments, adopted as a means of giving more richness and interest to the piece, results sometimes in a very curious medley of subjects, with no possible connection between them. Let us take, for instance, the schnelle etched on Plate III., and we must give up any idea of explaining the wanton juxtaposition of such personages as "Venus," "David and Goliath," and "Lot and his Daughters." The reason of so anomalous an assemblage can be found only in the random use of the discarded moulds of one of the best masters, made by some unscrupulous potter having no models of his own. The threefold repetition of a subject on the same piece, so frequently noticed, must also indicate a second-rate maker; a really good schnelle always presents three different panels.

An approximate idea of the variety of religious subjects may be formed by the perusal of the German catalogues of sales, where the ware is, as a rule, properly described; but we do not think our object would be furthered by a long and bare nomenclature. We shall, however, append here a desultory list of the best and most frequently recurring models of religious scenes.

From the Old Testament: The Garden of Eden, The Temptation, Adam and Eve banished, The Sacrifice of Noah, The History of Joseph,

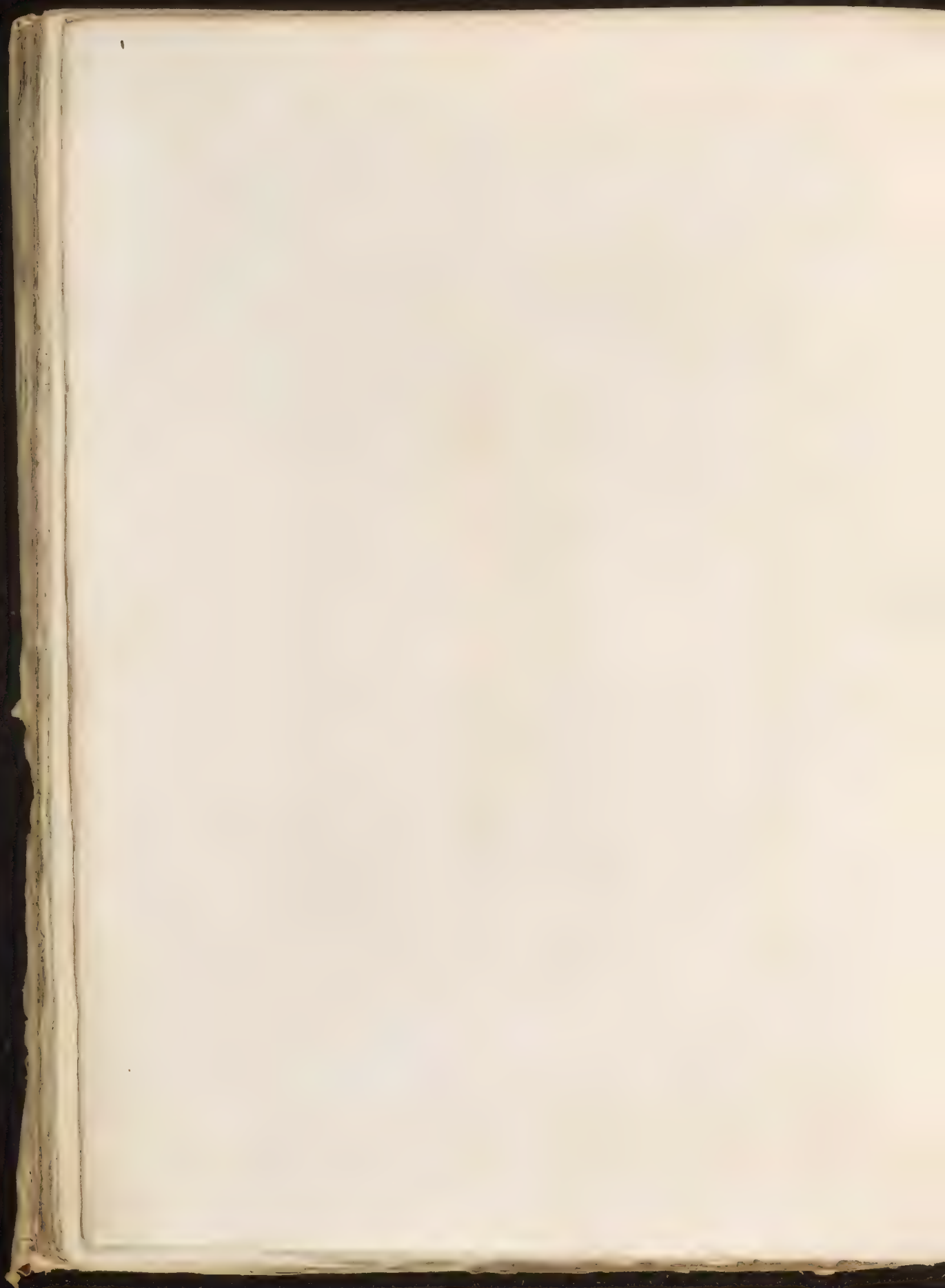
E. & R. A. & L.

FIG. III.



Wm. Z. ...

Wm. Z. ...



Cana, The Last Supper, The Flagellation, Ecce Homo, The Crucifixion, The Resurrection, St. John, St. Helena, etc.

As a curious counterpart, we shall place here the series of anti-Catholic pieces—stinging satires directed against the clergy, and particularly against the monks. In the abbatial town, where the abbot himself extended his supervision over each potter and his work, pints and jugs were manufactured with scurrilous images upon them, attacking not only convents and friars, but the Catholic religion itself. We could hardly realize it, did we not remember that the trade depended almost entirely on orders coming from distant parts, and that a commission of this sort, given in secrecy, could be made surreptitiously, and be smuggled out with the ordinary goods. One of them, a small schnelle with allegorical pictures of "Superstition," must have had an immense success all through Protestant Germany, so great is the number of copies that are still found in our days. It bears three different subjects, two of which we give only (figs. 62, 63). One, the Hydra of Superstition, a monster whose three heads represent the Pope, the Sultan, and a winged face said to be Antichrist. The other is the Temptation of Christ. It is completed with a third scene, in which we see Christ tilling the ground of a garden where the trees are laden with the insignia of power and emblems of wealth; and while the toiler goes on with his work, prelates, priests, and monks are busy pulling at the branches and gathering the golden fruits. The inscriptions run thus:

PACK DICH TEUFEL IN INTRUM. UNKREVT
WILL ICH AUSROTEN UND WERFEN ES INS FEUR.

"Depart from me, Satan." "I will uproot the weeds and throw them into the fire."

At Raeren this schnelle was imitated in brown ware, with a slight variation as to the shape; besides, the moulds having been cut the same way as the relief models, the subjects are necessarily reversed in the proof.



Fig. 61. From a Schnelle in the Nuremberg Museum.

Raeren, pre-eminently Catholic, a village surrounded by convents, and where Protestantism has never penetrated, followed in this respect the example of Siegburg. We know several models of the same order, whereon the misdeeds and crimes the priesthood and religious communities of the Roman Catholic Church were accused of by the reformers are depicted with the most unequivocal and, we should say, revolting



Fig. 62. THE TEMPTATION.



Fig. 63. THE HYDRA OF SUPERSTITION.
From a Schnelle in the Berlin Museum.

crudity. Amongst others we shall mention the jug preserved in the Kunst Gewerbe Museum at Berlin. This is not an anonymous performance, as one might expect—the authorship is boldly acknowledged by Jan Emens, who has put his well-known initials in a conspicuous place. A frieze, divided into ten compartments, unfolds before our eyes a series of scenes which we find impossible to describe, still less to reproduce, and where

priests and friars are seen playing the principal parts. A jug of similar purport belongs in proper to Siegburg, and the varied subjects of which it is composed are found together, or impressed separately on small pieces; one of them is a fine balustre pot, in the Hetjens collection, on which we see an infuriated monk threatening with a dagger a woman who tries to repulse him.

As a matter of fact, virulent attacks against friars and the clergy in general were of common occurrence in Catholic countries long before the Reformation. The Gothic churches are covered with satirical sculptures, all betokening the degree of freedom allowed to public opinion to stigmatize hypocrisy and vice in whatever exalted position of life they were suspected to be rife. An artist following the bent of his own imagination in delineating the Last Judgment, never failed to introduce, in the thick cluster of reprobates claimed by the flaming abyss, a good sprinkling of popes, cardinals, bishops, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries. This does not appear to have been considered derogatory to the dignity of faith and religion in themselves; and such pictures were everywhere exhibited for the edification of worshippers in cathedrals and chapels.

Yet such flagrant disrespect towards the heads of the Church could hardly have been tolerated at Siegburg, at a time when religious strife was raging with intense fierceness, and when part of the population was still left blind and fettered in the bondage of ignorance and superstition. The crime of witchcraft was particularly hunted out and visited with atrocious punishment: in this small town an inoffensive citizen might, on the slightest suspicion, be arrested and sent to the stake. The potters, no more than other inhabitants, could escape from the malignant prosecution of a few bloodthirsty fanatics, who derived power and profit from their cowardly accusations. The year 1638 saw the horrors of barbarous *auto-da-fés*, the repulsive narratives of which have been minutely preserved in local histories. We find the name of Thierry Knutgen, master potter, amongst those of the last victims; he was the eleventh who, in the space of six weeks, was burned alive for sorcery and witchcraft.

But a sarcasm directed against the priesthood was, after all, a venial offence, and was punished in a more lenient manner. In the event of an impious or scurrilous work made by an unknown hand being discovered, the Guild could, as responsible for the misdeeds of any of its members, be mulcted a heavy fine. Thus it is recorded that, pursuant to a judgment rendered by the abbatial court towards the end of the sixteenth century, the whole craft in its solidarity had to pay a sum of 600 gold florins as atonement for an unmentioned misdemeanour. In the absence of any explanatory considerations, showing cause for the unwonted severity of this sentence, we may have some reason to surmise that it followed upon the discovery of clandestine manufacture, by one or several masters, of such objectionable and prohibited articles.

Another important class may be formed of the armorial schnelles. A special work will one day have to be written on the armoury of stoneware vessels; here we can only broach the subject. Heraldic devices play an important part in the decoration; it is rare to find an example of a vase or a drinking vessel out of the common

run which has not its complement of shields and armorial bearings. Many escape identification for want of indication of metals and colours; nevertheless, archæologists have already succeeded in naming a certain number of them, belonging for the greater part to German families, and also, but in much smaller proportions, to houses of foreign extraction. The commercial connections of the Siegburg Guild were more regularly established with Germany proper and the south; Raeren, on the contrary, had extended its trade northwards with Flanders and the other countries of Europe; consequently, while we see a constant occurrence of the double-headed eagle of the Empire on the white stoneware, the arms of the great powers—England, France, Spain, and Sweden—are much less frequent than on the brown ware of Raeren.

Although it is well averred that emblazoned vases were, as a rule, made purposely to be presented as a gift, or upon the special order of the personage whose cognizance they bore, yet the innumerable repetitions of certain shields do not permit the assumption that they had all the same private destination. If we find, for instance, the arms of Cleves-Berg upon most of the superior fabrics of the Siegburg potter, and may infer



Fig. 64. ARMS OF COLOGNE.
South Kensington Museum. Height, 11 in.

that these were made for one member of that noble family, we see them also affixed to a host of minor pieces evidently entering the common range of trade goods. Remembering that, independently of their allegiance to the abbot, the inhabitants owed homage and duties to the Duke of Cleves-Berg, within whose dominions the town was situated, we have no difficulty in presuming that one of these duties consisted in affixing the ducal arms upon certain products of their trade as a token of vassalage

and respect. This custom, to which the French potters were bound in the fifteenth century, must also have been followed in Germany. B. Fillon, in "*L'Art de terre chez les Portevins*" (p. 50), quotes an agreement made at Villeneuve, between the potters and their lord, in which the former agree, "not only to present yearly a masterpiece of their own making, but also to affix the coat of arms of the said lord upon all pots of a price exceeding three 'solds,' under a penalty of a fine for each case of non-compliance with the agreement." This would suggest a very good reason for the presence of the escutcheon of Cleves-Berg upon so many ordinary pieces, and also upon those of a higher class, where it is found associated with the arms of other noble families of the German states and towns for which ware was manufactured. The names of these countries and towns would form a long list, out of which we may mention the following: Saxony, Wurtemberg, Brunswick, Augsburg, Bremen, Cologne, Hamburg, Nuremberg, etc. (Figs. 64, 65.)

Certainly, if we take the degenerated fabrics of the last period, when old moulds were taken up and made use of promiscuously, the appearance of one or more coats of arms on a pint or a vase loses all significance; but when trade was at its best, and a certain control was exerted over all makers and their works, we believe that at Siegburg an armored medallion indicates a private destination of the piece upon which it is embossed. Here the neighbouring gentry took pride in having drinking vessels stamped with their arms, and, dispensing with the intervention of the merchant, preferred to deal directly with the potters. Of this the account books of the Guild contain repeated proofs. They had to bear the expense of costly moulds being cut expressly after their own shields, as well as with the date of their making; the price of the moulds are charged to the customer in the registers, and it was understood that these moulds were not to be employed on any other occasion. Sometimes an unscrupulous master attempted to defraud a customer with regard to the cutting of these special moulds, and to palm off in their stead some old-fashioned pattern, but they were liable to be summoned before the council to answer for the fraudulent substitution.



Fig. 65. ARMS OF BREMEN
Hanley Technical Museum. Height, 11 in.

From a document preserved in the archives we become acquainted with a case of this kind. It is a complaint lodged in 1597 by Adolphus, Lord of Eymnich, respecting certain armored jugs just forwarded to him, and which bore a millesim seven years out of date. According to the specification of the contract, they ought to have been marked with the date of the current year; he therefore requested that the potter should be compelled to take back the unsatisfactory ware, and to deliver in exchange another set duly armored and dated according to the agreement.

Under the domination of foreign princes who ruled in succession over the Low Countries, each courtier, each government official, affected to display in his household the arms of the then existing power, hence a certain number of vases embossed with the royal escutcheons of all these countries; but to meet with what we might term an "historical piece" is a rare, almost an unknown occurrence. It is somewhat disappointing to the archæologist, in search of some graphic document which might illustrate the stirring times the potters had to live through, to have to acknowledge, after an exhaustive review, that not a single historical event has ever been recorded upon their ware. We must not expect to meet with a single subject, or inscription, alluding even indirectly to the victories or defeats, devastations and deliverances, which had so often convulsed the country.

In the midst of the revolutions that took place around them, the potters continued to work out on their jugs and pints their favourite subjects, drawn from the Bible and the mythology. A few foreign coats of arms are about all that remains to tell us that they had taken any notice of the changes accomplished in their time. To these may be added a few rare portraits of princes or captains, but made use of with the same precaution used at Raeren,—where such historical figures are however to be found in greater quantities,—the potter, putting aside his own political feelings, took great care to place upon the same vase the portraits of victors and vanquished on a footing of equality, in order that his preference, if he had any, might remain safely concealed.

Fig. 66 represents Henry II., King of France, a full-length figure of good style. This schnelle, of masterly execution, has on the other side Philip II. of Spain, also in full length, and both are accompanied with the royal arms of their respective countries. It is signed with the same initials, F. T., which never appear but on superior models. Replicas of this fine piece are of great rarity.

Another rare schnelle, signed with the familiar initials H. H., is adorned with the portrait of Henry IV. of France, and the arms of Navarre.

Three figures, no doubt of historical importance, are embossed on a schnelle, or canette, of smaller dimension: one of them is here reproduced on fig. 67. They are richly attired in the Spanish fashion, and bear sceptres and olive branches in

their hand. Underneath each figure is inscribed a short sentence in mixed Latin and Low German, which reads like the promises of a prince addressing his newly conquered subjects :

JUSTICIA ZERT. PAX ICH BEGERT.
VERITAS HALT WERT.

No initials, date, or armorial bearings assist us in identifying the illustrious personages represented by the artist. The vague aspirations expressed in the inscriptions towards Justice, Peace, and Truth, were common feelings entertained in these troubled times by all people in the Low Countries; from these words we cannot therefore derive any precise information. Still the piece comes unquestionably within the range of those we have called "historical." When it was made these portraits were probably known to all, and in them were at once recognized the heroes of the moment. By the number of copies still in existence, we see that it must have been a popular model. Pottery offers us innumerable instances of a piece made with the view of being distributed among the people, like a medal or a print, to spread the dawning popularity of an alien sovereign, or of the new governor of a province; this one had, in all probability, been ordered to answer such a purpose.

It is precisely when we chance to meet with a specimen of this sort, so full of interest in its historical associations, that we cannot help regretting the scarcity of subjects which would allow us to follow, recorded on the clay, the social and political vicissitudes through which the potter lived and worked.



Fig. 66. SCHNELLE WITH FIGURE OF HENRY II.
South Kensington Museum. Height, 11 in.

A last portrait must be added to this short list, the most interesting of all when taken in connection with the Siegburg potters. It is the half-length figure of their



Fig. 67. UNKNOWN PERSONAGE.
Museum of Antiquities, Brussels.

patron, the Duke of Cleves-Berg, represented in full armour, duly inscribed and accompanied with his well-known coat of arms.

But if the group of historical pieces is a very limited one, we must say that, in another order of ideas, subjects of all possible description have been put under contribution for the adornment of the *schnelles*. Mythological scenes have been employed with marked predilection; it may even be said that, intended for a higher class of patrons—ordinary customers troubling themselves very little as a rule about Olympian gods and their doings—they exhibit generally a superior treatment. The best hands were intrusted with the cutting of the moulds, and these latter were reserved to complete the richest and most elaborate articles. Such pieces as the *schnelles* with the Feats of Hercules, or the Judgment of Paris (fig. 68), are, for style of design as well as for finish of execution, equal to the best works of white stoneware. Unfortunately copies do not often turn up, and, like other good works, they are in a minority in the crowd of more ordinary specimens.

A set of figures after Virgilius Solis: Jupiter, Saturn, Venus, Juno, and other deities, framed into complicated borders with strap-work of Italian taste, must be mentioned as common to Raeren and Siegburg. Such replicas show clearly that neither

centre was above pirating the successful models introduced by the competitors. In point of number, however, mythological subjects are not to be compared with religious or heraldic ones.

Scenes of common life, where one sees the peasants carousing at the tavern, or disporting themselves at the dance,—realistic pictures such as were so much to the taste of the merry Fleming,—are altogether absent from the drinking pots intended for the more sedate frequenter of the German beer hall.

Noblemen carrying a falcon on the fist, noble dames holding a symbolical flower, in stiff attitudes and stately costumes, sometimes adorn the sides of a large pitcher duly emblazoned in the centre, but never are they associated with any vulgar character, peasant or soldier. We cannot put down to the credit of the Siegburg modeller the frieze of the celebrated "Peasants' Dance," which belongs in proper to Raeren, and although often made in white ware, was only the copy of a well-known pattern of brown ware, made only with a view to compete with the original. This subject—or any others of the same kind—is never found on the *schnelles*; it was reserved for jugs imitative of the brown ware types, as well in form as in decoration. The model used at Siegburg was not however a mere cast taken from a Raeren one; it was cut direct, probably from Beham's engraving, and signed by H. H. in 1591: the master who marked with these initials is said never to have worked out of Siegburg.

Upon a jug in the Munich National Museum, separate groups taken from the same Peasants' Dance appear, this time in connection with the arms of Mayence and a figure of Justice. Pieces made by a potter to be offered as a friendly gift to some parent or acquaintance, and suitably inscribed, however common in other places, are here extremely rare; upon this one the maker has written the words: *NICKELS HANS SORGEN MEI 1579*, "Nicholas John remember me." It bears the monogram L. W., better known at Raeren than at Siegburg, but yet occasionally found at the latter place. If the potter who marked with that sign really came from the Flemish centre to execute an occasional work, we have the explanation of a dedication quite unusual at Siegburg; as a rule, an armored shield or a monogram is the only sign denoting a private destination ever seen on any work of white stoneware. The same mould-maker, L. W., has also affixed his initials and the date 1593 on a fine frieze comprising several groups of figures engaged in the agricultural occupations of the four seasons of the year.



Fig. 68. Anc. Coll., Pickert.

IF a single category were to be formed of those handled pots to which the German collector applies, in a general way, the name of "Krug,"—imperfectly translated into English by the word "Jug,"—it would include types of a very wide-apart character. The series would comprise examples of all periods and styles, and the vulgar and coarse article made for the market-place would have to be classified by the side of the finest masterpieces of the art. In shape the "krug" ranges from the tall, narrow-footed balustre vase, to the low, squat, broad-bellied pitcher;—from the heavy, rough, and unornamented water-pot, to the refined ewer, gracefully profiled, daintily chased, and elegantly completed with long spout and curved handle.

The order we have so far adopted brings us now to describe the group formed by the jugs. Yet the "Schnabell Krug," or spouted jug, to which we have just referred, can hardly be said to belong to the same class as the vulgar pitcher; it deserves, at all events, to be named before all others. In good English, and with our modern notions, this shape would bear quite another name. We should be tempted to believe that it was used to contain hot beverages; it is the nearest approach to the vessel we are used to call a coffee-pot. But we know that stoneware was not intended to contain hot liquids, and those spouted jugs were probably intended to serve old wine, costly liquors, and cordials. The name of "ewer" is therefore the name which should be applied to them.

Nothing seems to have been spared to make of some of those ewers the most perfect examples of white stoneware, and almost an equal amount of commendation can be bestowed upon the generality of these favourite performances of the best and most talented craftsmen. It was for such delicate and minute traceries as cover the handles and spouts of the ewers that dies and matrices were, at great cost, sunk in hard and fine-grained stone. The friezes, running round the cylindrical neck and upon the medial part of the body, equal in grace and power the happiest designs of the Renaissance ornamentist; in fineness of treatment, in chiselling of details, one can say that they surpass any work for which clay has been employed as material. The grinning mask in high relief, hiding the junction of the spout, is, as a rule, of great beauty; the top and bottom of the body, which otherwise would have shown traces of the thrower's hand, are boldly cut in with a blade in a diamond-shaped diaper; finally, the lines of the mouldings are sharply finished on the wheel. We had for reproduction the choice of several very remarkable examples of the same class, yet we have not hesitated in selecting the one etched on Plate IV., an incomparable gem belonging to Mr. Thewalt, burgomaster of Cologne. It was made for Daniel of Merlaw, provost of St. Michel (Coemiterium) and Zell, which is thus recorded in the inscription in exergue of a medal, impressed with a coat of arms, affixed to the shoulder of the vase:

E. B. H. AARE
F. 17



Th. w. h. 2 II

BY DEDICATED

DANIEL VON MERLAW CAPIT . CEM . ZU FULD (Fulda) . PRBST ZO ZELL . A.

Two other jugs with long spouts of simpler description, but still much above the ordinary class of trade goods, will be found farther on, figs. 72, 73.

The drinking pots of balustre shape deserved to be treated separately, and a few pages have already been devoted to these most original and distinctive productions of the white stoneware potter; we have no need therefore to revert to them in this place. Conjointly with the balustre pot—which represents the local type—many other beer vessels were manufactured of a more commonplace form, better suited to answer, as a table requisite, the notions generally accepted in other German provinces. We mean the jug proper,—the real jug,—to which no more dignified name can be applied; the vessel which is neither a vase nor an ewer; whose plain form does not aim at being elegant and attractive, but is meant to look serviceable and handy. For this reason, perhaps, although capable of receiving any amount of adornment, that jug was not often selected by the best makers as affording a suitable ground for the display of exceptional workmanship. We do not go so far as to assert this to be a rule; if so, we should have to acknowledge that there is an unlimited number of exceptions to it. It is an observation suggested to us by the recollection of the very different treatment the same piece would have received at the hand of the Raeren potter. One may say, from the comparative study of the works of both centres, that at Siegburg, the smaller the piece, the richer it is in its surface decoration; at Raeren, on the contrary, the larger the vase, the finer and the more costly is the work bestowed upon it. There is no denying that the masterpieces of brown stoneware are all to be found amongst jugs of unusual capacity, and that such important models are one and all far from being unique, but, on the contrary, found so often duplicated as to show us that they were counted amongst the regular productions of the manufactories.

Generally speaking, the bulky pitcher made at Siegburg affected the plain shape of the jar; its outline runs, unbroken by any fillet or moulding, from the narrow neck to its broad base, and the whole shows no more artistic pretensions than become a modest and practical household utensil. Two or three circular medallions are stuck on the broad expanse of the body, and, according to the subject they represent, these medallions seem to indicate the destination of the huge vessel. Is it the Crucifixion, or other religious subject?—we may then take the pitcher as having been one of the simple appointments appertaining to the monastic cells, where it contained the water for the use of their pious inhabitants. Is the subject of the medallion a more worldly one?—we may see in that particular example the convenient beer pot in which that beverage was brought from the cellar in sufficient quantity to refresh a large number of guests.

The style of the applied ornaments departs notably on large jugs from that used on the schnelles, and never are the same subjects reproduced on both shapes. Instead of long bands, containing complete scenes stuck in one piece, separate figures, broad leaves, rosettes, or animals are neatly cut out, and disposed on the ground, so as to form a pleasant arrangement. We do not know of a single "canette" on which the scheme of decoration has been carried out by means of fragmentary details. This, on the

contrary, was the plan followed in forming on the large jug illustrated on fig. 69 the stately array of noble dames, in gorgeous attire and with Scriptural names, which is displayed on each side of the well-known escutcheon of Cleves-Berg. We must add that the same method is adhered to for all pieces of similar shape.



Fig. 69. B^{on} Oppenheim Coll. Height, 14 in.

These shapes are almost exact reproductions of the most ancient water-pots. Since the mediæval era, no modification has been introduced in the proportions or profiles of these most handy vessels. Designed upon the best notion of practicability, none of the more elegant forms imagined afterwards could supersede them in the estimation of the sensible housewife who went through the market-place in search of a pitcher

of convenient size, easy to fill, handy to carry, and standing firm on the bottom. The coarse material was in the course of ages improved into a fine stoneware body, the fashioning perfected, but the form was so well adapted to the requirements that it could not be altered; a more or less elaborate treatment of the designs devised for its outward embellishment sufficed to make the old jug keep up with new taste.

All pottery in early stages of manufacture evinces so sure a feeling of rationalism that it is rare to see the standard types of antiquity disappear completely from the works of advanced civilization. If we wanted another example to illustrate this

principle, we should find it in the jug, fig. 70, also derived from the ancient terra cotta pitcher, but this time one of small dimensions. A glance at our sketch will enable us to judge of its probable capacity. The differences between it and the larger pot have been dictated by the different use it was to be put to. It is a drinking vessel for the table; there was no necessity to swell the sides to make it hold more than one draught, therefore it is tall instead of bulky; but to be conveniently filled the aperture had to be enlarged in proportion to the largest diameter, so instead of terminating in a narrow neck, the top is broad and widely opened. Modern crockery offers many proofs of the real merit of such shapes; they have not yet been discarded by the potmaker, and will never be replaced by better ones.

This last example is not of a model commonly found at Siegburg, nevertheless its decoration remains truly characteristic. It was made for the trade of some distant province. The arms of Austria spread their broad shield on the front of the piece, surmounted by the figure of an angel. This angel is often added to escutcheons where it is quite out of keeping with the other heraldic bearings; we have seen it on fig. 69 forming the crest of the arms of Berg. Perhaps it is their own device that the potters liked to introduce in this peculiar manner, as a stamp of origin; an angel stood, as we know, in the arms of the abbatial town. A long inscription, a much rarer instance at Siegburg than in other centres, is disposed on the shoulders of the jug, impressed in two bands, slanting in a curious way. It reads thus:

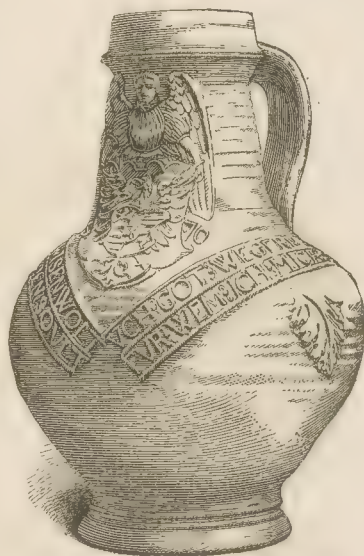


Fig. 70. Felix Coll. Height, 10½ in.

UCH . GOT . WE . GERN . ICH . WISEN . WOLT . FUR . WEM . ICH . MICH . HUIDEN .
SOULT. "O God! would that I knew against whom I am to guard myself."

Inferior goods were not destroyed, but, in pursuance of a long-established custom, all defective pots made during the year—the sale of which was strictly forbidden by the regulations—were given away to the poor on the feast of St. Annon. Each pauper who on that day received a jug from the Guild, could bring it to the Abbey and have it filled with good beer. Happy was the one to whose lot had fallen a broad and

capacious pitcher, for the understanding was that every jug should be filled to the brim. Indiscreet postulants, attempting to abuse the abbot's liberality, must have brought to the tap too many jars of unreasonable size, for the chronicles relate that a condition had to be laid down that, although every pot should continue to be "filled to the brim" as had been promised, yet those only which could be lifted with one arm should be allowed to be carried away.

As a contrast of richness of workmanship between a large and a small piece, we could not choose a better example than the one etched on Plate I. It is a jug undeniably, in the true acceptance of the word, yet it will stand comparison with the handsomest testimonial pieces of all forms ever made at Siegburg.

The only criticism we may pass upon it is that not one of the details with which it is so richly clad is the work of the potter or of his formschneider. All the flowers, birds, and stags, in high relief, decorating the shoulder of the vase, as well as the delicate subjects of figures in landscape which form the central frieze, have been evidently borrowed from silver-work. It is in all points a piece exceptional and rare, almost an anomaly, and by no means an article of current trade. A very prominent shield,—again supported by an angel modelled in pure Gothic style,—contains a monogram, which tells of a private destination. The shield, also an impression from metal-work, contained originally an embossed coat of arms; this has been carefully scraped for the occasion, and in its place the trade-mark of some merchant, probably the one for whom the jug was intended, has been incised by hand (see fig. 10). This jug bears no other mark or monogram; it is not dated, and the lid is of plain pewter.

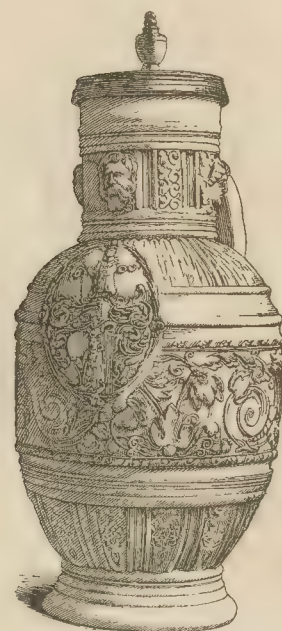


Fig. 71. B^{er}n Oppenheim Coll. Height, 9½ in.

One of the wealthy dealers with whom the Guild traded so extensively may have had it executed under his own superintendence, and to gratify a whim of his own; he may himself have lent to the potter the valuable silver piece to be imitated, and from this impressions and moulds had been taken of all the details to be reproduced in clay. It formerly made part of the Bernal collection.

Other jugs of small size show sufficient richness of workmanship to stand as a

ETRUSCAN WARE
No. 1. with handle & spout

Pl. 1.



British Museum

PRINTED BY T. BROSSE & CO.

flat contradiction to our previous observation concerning the apparent disregard in which the jug is held by the Siegburg potter as an ornamental object. Still, we must observe that, when they are not unique examples like the one engraved on Plate I., all jugs are, as a rule, late works, made to imitate, often to reproduce exactly, the brown ware of Raeren. In the Oppenheim collection can be seen a white stoneware replica of the Electors jugs, a type so peculiar to Limburg; and in other museums the peasant dances, coming from the same sources, are preserved in many duplicates. A small specimen of the Flemish form is given on fig. 71. The abbot represented on the shield denotes its conventual destination, and the date 1600 inscribed on the field shows that it belongs to a rather late period. However interesting may be these loans or piracies, as one may like to call them, we prefer dwelling on the original specimens, evincing a style racy of the soil.

Still we cannot pass without mention another suggestive importation. The full-bellied beer-pot,—to which a bearded face stuck under the spout had caused the name of "Bartman" to be given,—a type so extensively made in every manufacturing centre, could not be altogether missing at Siegburg. But we must hasten to say that it is there of great rarity, and only to be met with in a few stray examples, all of high-class order.

The one we have selected for reproduction on fig. 72 resembles so closely the "Bartman" of Frechen,—in which locality it was the staple article of trade,—that judging only from our sketch, no one would hesitate in ascribing it to that well-known factory.

It has decidedly the same mask with flowing beard; the familiar oak branch with stamped-in leaves and acorns: nothing is changed. We recognize even the diminutive bird which forms the central feature of the leafy ramification so often indulged in on the brown ware. But doubt is no longer possible when we stand in the presence



Fig. 72. "BARTMAN." South Kensington Museum.
Height, 14 in.

of the piece itself; the white clay of which it is made is an undeniable certificate of origin. We must however look at it as an exceptional instance amongst the generality of white stoneware vessels. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it proves once more the interchange of workmen which, in spite of stringent prohibitions, took place between the various manufacturing districts. For such a similitude can only be explained by the fact of a potter who had learned his trade with the Frechen people coming accidentally to import his usual mode of working in the factories of Siegburg.

Another example of this foreign type is etched on Plate VI. This time the form and the indispensable mask alone remind us of the "Bartman." The body of the pot is adorned with three medallions, richly carved in the habitual style of the Siegburg "formschneider." They represent the half-length figure of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in fanciful oriental costumes, and surrounded with luxuriant scrolls of foliage and ornamentation. Both the above jugs may be taken as costly and exceptional articles. The common beer-bottle, with no other decoration but the grinning mask, made everywhere else for the tavern and the village inn, does not enter the range of regular productions in the pot works of Siegburg.

THE constant intercourse kept up between the different districts does not seem to have seriously influenced the character of local manufacture, beyond the repetition in one place of a model successful in another. Time-honoured traditions were not easily replaced by new fashions; so ways and means remained unaltered in the factories where they had originated. Simple as they were, the processes established during the first years of improved production satisfied for ever after the quiet and easy-going stoneware maker. From the time when we see the white ware of Siegburg beginning to be embellished with application of ornamental reliefs, up to the destruction of the town by the Swedes,—when all good work ceased to be made,—we cannot find any marked movement, either progressive or retrograde, in the state of the handicraft. During a century almost the higher standard is maintained; but there is no sign of any striking modification intervening to impart a little freshness to the immutable style of manufacture.

As far as technics were concerned, the potter living in those primitive times had few difficulties to contend with; the making, as well as the decoration of the ware, were confined to a few simple processes, easily mastered. All he had to do, and cared to do, was to follow the revered traditions he had received from his forefathers. To introduce any audacious change in the antique secrets of the craft would have been accounted little short of desecration. If we compare specimens belonging to extreme

SEBORG WARE
Baltimore

Pl. V



Nat Museum Munich

FRONTIS. DR. KELCH

periods, we see, for instance, the rough throwing of the clay, as it was practised by the ancestors, persevered in and still practised by the sons of their grandsons. The last of the balustre jugs shows, just as the first ones had shown centuries before, the coarse ridges left by the impression of the workman's finger. Never was the scraping tool of the turner—which would have made it smooth like a Raeren jug—applied to the uneven surface. These inequalities are visible on the sides of all pots, even when they are partially concealed by the deep incisions cut into the clay with a sharp blade, so as to form a lozenge-shaped diaper, or by the superposition of the thin bands of clay covered with embossed ornaments, bent and made to espouse the curve of the piece, after they had been pressed in separate moulds.

The primitive matrix or mould of a single shell was never improved upon. The notion of constructing a complete mould by means of parts cunningly joined together, into which a whole vase or figure could be pressed and finished on all its faces at one operation, never penetrated into the factories. On that account models pressed in the round were not produced. The nearest approach to a sculptural object was obtained by combining and sticking together fragmentary portions, pressed separately; of such works we have given several examples in the beginning of this chapter.

Pottery of the primitive period and of the roughest kind is often fashioned by the finger of man into the representation of natural objects, but we cannot call to mind having ever come across a piece made at Siegburg at the best of times which was completely modelled by hand.

Painting, or anything indicating the use of the brush, even so little as the tracing of a name or of an inscription, seems never to have been thought of. Staining with metallic oxides, which alone could have transformed the outward look of the ware, was in truth resorted to, but almost reluctantly, and with great parsimony. Oxides of cobalt, manganese, and iron—pigments turned later to such good account by the Grenzhäusen potters—were known and sometimes used; but no pleasant effect ever resulted from the clumsy spots of brown or blue with which some pieces were occasionally daubed. Far from bettering them, this heavy patching of colour often disfigured the raised traceries they were meant to improve. Such is the case with the elegant ewer given on fig. 73, where the fine details carved on the cuirass of the warrior, and the features of the grinning mask under the spout, disappear under a thick coating of brown paste, spoiling all the delicacy of the workmanship.

From this example, and many others, one can easily understand why such an imperfect method of introducing one or more colours was not generally adopted.

The effect obtained by a superficial rubbing of powdered "*Zaffre*" is more

satisfactory, and certain specimens are thus happily clouded with a light blue tint which enhances still more the delicacy of the reliefs. This process was much more extensively employed in the Raeren factories, from which it had probably been borrowed, and can hardly be brought to the credit of any master of the Siegburg Guild.

The white faïence, then coming to the front in other parts of Germany, must have at one moment preoccupied the mind of the stoneware potter; and to resist a dreaded competition, he tried to make use of the stanniferous enamel which made the faïence

so white and glossy. On some of the big pitchers above described, we notice broad touches of opaque enamel, running over the sides of the piece in heavy drops of bluish colour. The application is only partial and irregular, and often all traces of it disappear in the firing. Only a few imperfect experiments show that the practice was attempted for a short time.

As a rule, the Siegburg potter, proud of the white ground of his ware, was rather averse to hide it under any staining or coloured glaze, and he left this subterfuge to those who could not boast of such a pure material. He is certainly at his best when he confines himself



Fig. 73. JUG STAINED WITH BROWN. Cologne Museum.

to his unglazed and richly embossed white clay, and we must ask nothing more of him.

Notwithstanding the scantiness of technical processes employed, we cannot tax the vessels of white stoneware with being short of interest and lacking variety. Invention and originality are, on the contrary, the distinctive qualities of the innumerable works contributed by the chief craftsmen to whom was intrusted the care of upholding the good name of the Guild. The repetition of a well-known form was always avoided in the case of a piece intended for a special purpose, and the choice of subjects provided for its completion was so large, that of many of them not two examples are known.

It is to be observed that very few articles, even those of a common order, are left

plain or insufficiently decorated. If we look at the brown ware in the aggregate, we shall find the greater number of the small jugs or pints with no more than a single medallion impressed upon their smooth bodies; on the *schnelles*, and other small vessels of white ware, it is a rare exception if the scheme of decoration, however simple it purposed to be, does not spread all over the surface. The applied bands of embossed subjects were a very expeditious and inexpensive mode of embellishment, and they were unsparingly made use of when the shape of the piece was best suited to receive them.

When a complicated profile would have rendered such application impracticable, great finish could still be imparted to the piece by a well-calculated combination of incised patterns cut by hand, and by rosettes or arabesques impressed with seals in the wet clay. Fig. 74 is a very good illustration of this particular kind of work.

In the act of 1552 these two operations are referred to under the names of "*Geschnitten*" and "*Ge-drucktenwerk*," or "cut in" and "impressed work." It is added that either one or the other method may serve for the completion of ordinary goods, but that only on articles of superior class should they be conjointly employed.



Fig. 74. JUG WITH IMPRESSED WORK. Anc. Coll., Gcdon.
Height, 9 in.

Fanciful vases of eccentric shapes, masterpieces of the art, made for presentation, or by special commission, anything in short that came out of the regular trade pots, the list of which was every year drawn by the council, was placed out of the pale of general regulations. Such works were held as having nothing in common with the daily productions of the journeyman, and their makers were considered as independent artists. The *Herrenwerkleute*, or "lords' artisans," as they were called, enjoyed many privileges, denied to all other members of the craft. For them there was no restriction of time; they could work at any hour they pleased, and during the season when work was suspended in all the factories. No tariff was imposed on them;

their charges, it is said, were very heavy; the price for a new model had to be discussed with the artist, and settled by mutual agreement, before the work was undertaken.

Lofty candlesticks, elegant ewers, *schnelles* of extraordinary size or exceptional workmanship, were all works of the "lords' artisans."

Their favourite performance is, perhaps, the long-necked bottle, displaying on both its flattened faces the many-quartered escutcheon of the high and mighty personage to whom it was to be humbly presented. Considering their princely destination, we can expect these special works to have been executed with an unusual display of skill and care, and certainly none of those which have been preserved to us fall short of our expectation. They should, all and severally, deserve to be here described and reproduced; but our limited space does not allow us to give more than a selection, which cannot pretend to supply an adequate idea of the excellence and variety of the many specimens belonging to that class. (See Plates VI. and VII., and fig. 75.)

Perforated lion heads, or loops, provided along the sides for the purpose of suspension, intimate that they were meant as hunting or harvest bottles. Not that their lordly possessor can be supposed to have ever slung them across his shoulder and carried their heavy weight through woods and fields; yet they may have been often brought into use. They made part of the baggage brought by the valets to the meeting-place in the forest, where the hunting party joined at midday to partake of a rustic repast spread on the grass in some shady nook, and during the hasty collation the welcome flagon was passed from hand to hand. At the harvest feast, when the labour of the fields was at an end, the lord and master, accompanied by his family, was wont to drink with the peasants; while barrels of beer and casks of wine were staved in for the refreshment of the thirsty crowd, the large stoneware flask did duty at the extemporary board at which sat the noble party presiding over these festivities. In ordinary times the curious earthen vessel stood on the dresser shelves in the banqueting hall of the castle, where it was far from cutting a bad figure, even by the side of rare glass and costly plate.

All sets of ware prepared to be forwarded as presents by the abbot, by the magistrates of the town, or by the potters themselves as a propitiatory accompaniment to a request, or a compliment addressed to a powerful patron, included one of these wonderful bottles, so well suited to show off the heraldic devices (Plate VI.). The town's old accounts tell us of the heavy costs incurred by the municipality for the cutting of special moulds with rich coats of arms and their bearings of figures and animals. Such extra models were always understood to be reserved for the solitary occasion, and on no account to be afterwards vulgarized by appearing on the common ware; and this is the



NO. 1. KASHI. R. V. L. 18. 11.

reason why we find that the finest subjects are also the rarest; many remaining unique, and never found but once.

Silver mountings often increased the intrinsic value of art work. To very few pieces, unfortunately, have the valuable settings been preserved; the greed of some needy Philistine having long ago converted them into hard cash. The pear-shaped gourd of the Weckerlhin collection (fig. 75) has escaped the doom of the majority, and still proudly shows its silver chain passed through the appointed rings; it is dated 1586, and has an unknown coat of arms repeated several times, with the monogram M.G.

When offered to a less important personage,—one of the religious fathers of the Abbey, for instance,—instead of armorial bearings, Adam and Eve, or other biblical subjects, adorned the centre, invariably accompanied, however, by heraldic lions, the usual support of the shields (Plate VII.).

On the flat-faced hunting bottle we find occasionally the earliest of the decorative expedients of the white stoneware potters taken up at a late period, and exposed in the most open manner,—we mean the overcastings of the reliefs from metal-work. All the front part of a specimen of this class, in the Cologne



Fig. 75. HARVEST BOTTLE. South Kensington Museum.
Height, 16 in.

Museum, is occupied by a cast taken from a tazza of repoussé silver, chased by an artist of the Cellini school. It is unnecessary to repeat, that such hybrid productions lose all the character of real pottery works, and we have no cause to regret that they are not more numerous in the collections.

The annals of the craft carry us far beyond the dispersion of its members in 1632. A semblance of a Guild remained constituted, and the reports of the council continued to be entered in the registers, but with the destruction of the town the making of the artistic stoneware of Siegburg came abruptly to an end. No specimen worth our attention is known to bear a posterior date. No doubt the old style persisted for some years, but as there was no demand for richly-decorated articles, the manufacture soon sunk to the lowest level, and we have no means for ascertaining what sort of common articles could be still produced.

All we know is, that three master potters only remained in the town after its final destruction; the majority of their former companions had emigrated to better lands. We cannot feel much interested in the ware they may have produced, when we hear that those three lonely masters represented all the craft, and that their joint efforts did not succeed in firing more than four ovenfuls in the whole year. When assembled in council, their deliberations had all reference to the disposal of the wretched bottles they still managed to turn out, a point over which they were constantly quarrelling.

Up to our days a few workshops have continued to exist, conducted by descendants of the old families. Common utensils for the neighbouring towns are all that can be now found in a place once at the head of the industry. About fifty years ago a private attempt was made by a local potter to revive the departed art. A certain Löwenich undertook to take up the making of the embossed canettes and balustre jugs just at the point where his ancestors had left it two hundred years before. The same clay was there at hand, old moulds turned up every day from the ruins of the old suburb, it is not therefore to be wondered at if, under such conditions, he succeeded in reproducing some old models with sufficient accuracy to deceive for a time the judgment of many collectors. Those imitations have found their place in museums and collections, where no one thinks of suspecting their authenticity.

In many instances, however, the fraud is easily detected; it is when the forger, with too great a confidence in his creative powers, instead of a servile copy of a genuine old piece has given us a work of his own imagination. A well-known example of this kind is exhibited in a public museum, as a warning to those still unaware of the existence of such barefaced impositions. It is a large jug of a fancy shape, which, this time, does not claim relationship with any known shape of ancient stoneware. The embossed subjects, freely distributed all over the ground, form such a ludicrous medley

S. EGBURG WARE
Bottle

PI VII



K & G Museum No. 12

PRINTED BY T. BROWN & SONS

as to arouse at once the suspicion of the most confident looker on. We have in it a good supply of coats of arms belonging to places and periods never before associated together; but the most curious part of the design is the introduction of a figure of Joan of Arc, accompanied by a long and extravagant inscription on the deeds of the Maid of Orleans.

A comprehensive survey of the progress of the art at Siegburg can only be obtained by a visit to the collection formed by Mr. H. Hetjens. If the national museums of Europe can boast of possessing the most celebrated masterpieces of the craft, in the Hetjens collection a host of specimens of minor importance, snatched from the soil, may be said to represent the whole manufacture in all branches and at all times. We are amazed at the enormous quantity of fragments, once picked up by the shovelful in the excavations, and now properly classified, so as to exhibit a sample of almost every model ever produced. What may have become of the lost vases represented here by a small shard, is a question which suggests itself at the sight of the many subjects we notice for the first time; and what must have been the number of admirable productions of which not even a fragment has come down to us?

It is a rare pleasure to overhaul the contents of a collection formed, not at the auction rooms, but out of the genuine discoveries of its owner. A brief description of it will not here be out of place.

Beginning at the cellars of the house, we find the ground disappearing under a thick layer of broken pots, brought over from Siegburg and deposited there just as they were. A preliminary selection has already taken place; what remains consists chiefly of portions of vases, handles, necks or feet, heaped up according to shape. On the first story we enter the workshops, where all that was of special value has been stored up: shelves bend under the load of heavy pieces; drawers are left open, overfull with smaller bits; the floor itself is strewn with specimens in course of restoration. Order and method have presided over this apparent chaos. Fragmented subjects belonging to one model are packed up together. With incomparable skill the *genius loci* cuts out, grinds, fits, and joins as many pieces as are necessary to reconstitute a vase in its entirety. Any odd subject of interest is neatly cut out into shape, and goes to swell the contents of an immense cupboard, fitted with trays like a coin cabinet, and where they are arranged by series: the coats of arms; the friezes and panels; the masks; the ornamental details; etc., in short, a world of medallions and reliefs, which, taken in connection with the vases exhibited in the Museum Room, forms an unparalleled collection we wish all lovers of stoneware had the good fortune to visit and admire.

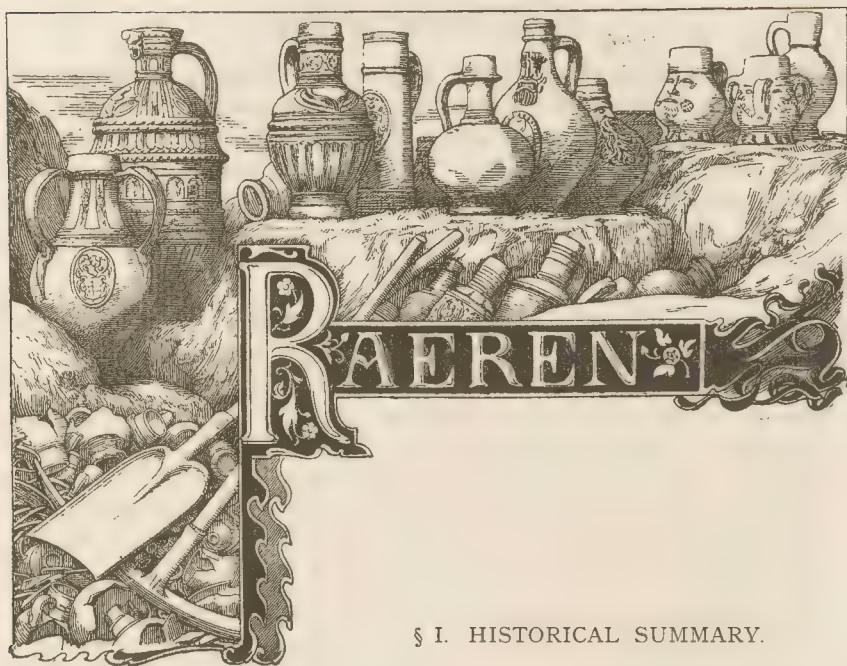
RAEREN.

§ I. HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

The birthplace of brown stoneware—Present aspect of the district—First searches instituted to discover the place where brown ware was manufactured—The Vicair Schmitz—Earliest records—Small jugs with figures of Royal personages—Date 1539 on a fragment—Bartman with date 1550—Ware made for the English markets—Grey and blue ware—The potters—Their patrons of the religious orders—Regulations and statutes—Manufacture and customs of the trade—The potters at work and at play—Ovens—Baldern Mennicken and Jan Emens—Engel Kran—Everard Kalf—Jan Allers, etc.—Marks of potters—Merchants.

§ II. THE WARE.

Early period—Jugs with cylindrical cerces—Peasant dances and scenes of common life—Scriptural and mythological subjects—Electors' jugs and historical pieces—Fountain of Trèves—Schnelles or pints—Common ware—Kaiser jugs—Presentation pieces—Pilgrim bottle of Cornelimünster—Imitations of Siegburg ware—Jugs with the coats of arms of local families—Fancy pieces—Annular jugs—Parallel between Raeren and Siegburg.



§ I. HISTORICAL SUMMARY.



SECOND to none, the fabrics of Raeren stand, like those of Siegburg, unrivalled in their specialities. Each place was the cradle of a very distinct class of production; and if all the white stoneware made subsequently in Germany may be said to have its source in the early works of the potters of the abbatial town, the brown pottery of Raeren must be considered as the fountain head of all Flemish stoneware. All other factories are but ramifications of these two old and important centres, to which history shows them to have been more or less directly related.

But it would be a more difficult task to establish what connection, if any, ever existed between the early makers of white and brown ware; the striking contrast presented by their works would induce one to believe that they started in their trade wholly independent of each other. The difference does not lie so much in the disparity of the clay employed at Raeren and at Siegburg, causing a ware of a special

colour to be exclusively manufactured, as in the manifest originality of the shapes and the style of ornamentation always adhered to in each of these places. Notwithstanding a few successful patterns made conjointly at a late period, the art of the two countries preserved to the end its characteristics. We have seen the members of the Siegburg Guild remain faithful to the models created by their ancestors; it is equally true that the native taste of the Flemish potter has never been permanently influenced by the works of his German competitor.

THE parish of Raeren belonged to the province of Limburg. This province made part of that ill-defined territory which was usually referred to as the "Low Countries," or "Flanders." After having remained an appanage of the Duchy of Brabant up to 1814, it was, on the recasting of that part of the map, incorporated into Germany. The stoneware of that district is then truly and beyond dispute of Flemish birth, and can well, even now, be styled "*Grès de Flandres*." Much has been said about a few inscriptions written upon the ware in bad German, but this would not tell for much against the appellation, considering that against these can be set a greater number of other inscriptions written in good Flemish. The Flemish language was generally spoken in Limburg, still, owing to the proximity of the frontier, German was not unfamiliar to some of the inhabitants.

Nothing of what we see now-a-days of the surrounding country would make us suspect that it was once covered with manufactories; that in this smiling landscape, where barns, stables, and farmsteads cluster at every fold of the shady hills and at every bend of the running brooks, once the fire and smoke of hundreds of chimneys darkened the atmosphere, and that the refuse, constantly cast away by the ovens in activity, smothered far and wide all vegetation under its hideous and sterile scurf. On our visit to this classical ground, when we passed through the village as it now stands, we realized how it was that the present inhabitants had lost all memory of the trade of their forefathers, and why archæologists and amateurs had remained so long without suspecting its importance. While Canon Dornbush was prosecuting his investigations on the Siegburg stoneware, all information that came within his notice had reference to the white pottery he had traced to its birthplace, but all was silent about the many vases of dark clay covered with a bright brown glaze, also admitted into every ceramic collection, and as much admired as their better known contemporaries. Of that brown ware nothing had hitherto been known; and the place of its origin was not even suspected. He wondered, with good cause, that in the mass of documents he perused no allusion to brown pots had ever met his eye; this mystery aroused his curiosity.

Raeren, a small, insignificant village, never had a history of its own like the

abbatial town, and its name, when it appears in any document or topographical work, is spelt in many strange and misleading ways; little or nothing about its former industry is to be discovered through such channels. A curious instance of incorrect information is to be found in Rits, "History of the Lower Rhine," Aachen, 1824. The author mentions the village, and calls it Schuttolckens Raeren; he adds "that it took its name from a poor man who, with the clay found in that part of Limbourg, used to make pots, and was wont to hawk them himself about the country." No doubt this refers not to any of the ancient potters who once plied their craft on the spot, but rather to one of their poor descendants who still, at the time of the publication of the book, practised by himself, and unaided, a trade then almost extinct.

In some other works the village is designated under the name of "Kanne Roren," or Pots Roren; and this name, met with several times, awoke at last Dornbush's perspicacity. He asked himself whether this "Pots Roren" might not be the cradle of that brown ware the origin of which had so far baffled his investigations. As soon as he had entered into communication with the curé of Raeren, the veil was lifted and the mystery at an end. The surnames impressed on the vases and sent by him to his correspondent, were at once recognized as belonging to families still existing in the land, although they had long since relinquished the vocation of potters. Then the true meaning of the celebrated inscription, which had perplexed and misled so many, came out in its simplicity. This inscription runs thus:

MESTER . BALDEM . MENNICKEN . POTENBECKER, WONENDE ZO . DEN
ROREN . IN LEIDEN . GEDOLT . 1577.

So far the reading of the above had resulted in very ludicrous translations; such as "Master Baldem Mennicken, potter, resident at Leyden, at the sign of The Fountain," and others quite as fanciful and far-fetched, since it was only a question of a potter living at Roren (Raeren), and who had appended to his name the philosophical sentence "In leyden gedolt," "Patience in troubles"!

From that time nothing more was required than to follow the thread so happily discovered, and it was then that Mr. Vicaire Schmitz undertook to institute systematic searches all over the parish. He called forth the recollections of the oldest inhabitants, consulted the public registers and family deeds, and at last directed a few preliminary diggings, the result of which proved most promising. This took place at the end of the year 1874. Stimulated by this happy start, he brought all his influence to bear upon his parishioners to induce them to help him energetically in his investigations. One Sunday, as the whole congregation was mustered before the church gates, he spoke to them to that effect, and made them aware of the benefit that

would accrue to them from any discoveries they might make. He told them that the ware buried all around in the soil was of such value, that not only whole pots, but even fragments would find ready purchasers; he urged them therefore in their own interest to set to work at once. His advice was acted upon to the letter, and trenches were up in every direction in the whole parish. Soon there was not a place, where an abnormal swelling of the ground indicated that some heap of refuse might probably have been deposited, that was left undisturbed by the spade of the excavator. The harvest turned out to be the most profitable that the poor peasants had ever obtained from their fields. Dealers and collectors came over from all parts of Germany. But by reason of the high prices offered by these visitors outbidding each other to secure the smallest find, the instigator of this search for treasures, Vicaire Schmitz, had to withdraw from the contest and remain satisfied with such minor fragments as were occasionally presented to him by his grateful parishioners. The collection he was able to form under the circumstances became, however, a small museum, if not of high market value, yet of great interest with respect to the history of the local manufacture. It was through the sagacious examination and classification of these fragments—comprising broken vases, coats of arms, inscribed medallions, and incomplete friezes or figure subjects, an assemblage in which, although in an imperfect form, all types and models were represented—that he succeeded in reconstituting the long-forgotten history and determine the distinguishing features of the brown ware of Raeren. Eventually he embodied the results of his observations in a series of interesting papers published in 1879 in the "*Bulletin des Commissions Royales d'Art et d'Archéologie de Belgique*." They form an interesting monograph, to which we are happy to acknowledge our indebtedness for most of the historical particulars to be found hereafter. We must not forget to record the assistance he received from Mr. President Schuermans, who explored in his behalf the national archives, and supplied him with information gathered from sources different from those to which Vicaire Schmitz could have access. Mr. Schuermans published at intervals, in the same periodical, several learned papers from which we have also largely borrowed. Mr. James Weale, the distinguished archæologist who has devoted part of his life to the study of Mediæval art in the Low Countries, took also a share in these early labours. An intimate friend of Canon Dornbush, he had promised him not to lose sight of the then pending question of the origin of the brown stoneware. The inscription we have quoted above was to be also his starting point; but again an incorrect interpretation of the word Roren caused him at first to work on the wrong track, making him look for traces of old pot works on the banks of the Roer, a tributary of the Meuse, and also on the Ruhr, an affluent of the Rhine. Baffled, but not conquered, his sagacity remained on the alert, and he too, one

day came to the conclusion that the Roren of the inscription was no other than the Limburg village of Raeren. He decided on taking the journey to ascertain the truth of his supposition, and arrived on the spot just as the preliminary investigations were being instituted. Some successful excavations conducted by him solved the problem at once; he then left them to be continued by other hands important work, claiming his attention elsewhere, prevented him from prosecuting his searches any further in that quarter.

The ground is far from being exhausted; interesting finds will still, we hope, be made at Raeren, although the energy with which the diggings were first carried on makes important discoveries now a matter of greater difficulty. At the outset the mere scratching of the soil was rewarded by the finding of some curious fragment; while deep excavations were often crowned with unexpected success. More than once the pickaxe reopened ancient trenches in which long rows of unbroken vases lay buried beneath a thick covering of clay. They were pieces condemned by the overseer as unfit for sale on account of their showing some slight imperfections. At Siegburg all imperfect work was given to the poor; at Raeren the custom of the trade sentenced them to be destroyed. Yet the potter was often loath to smash wantonly the fruit of his labour, and preferred to bury it in secret, leaving to fate the care of bringing it to light again; hoping, perhaps, that at some future time these pots might reveal to posterity what had been the talent and skill of their maker. And, in fact, they did one day come forth from their grave, and stand before our admiring gaze just in the same state as they were when buried centuries before. A thin fire-crack, a twist in the neck, a slightly crooked foot, had been the sole cause of their rejection. Such insignificant blemishes could mar but little the rapture and gratification of the excavator, when he chanced to come across a long row of such complete specimens, the fragments of which would have amply satisfied him. We need hardly say that they were eagerly sought by collectors who had begun to bring together selections of Flemish stoneware. A descendant of the old potters, Mr. J. Mennicken, of Eupen, was one of the first to form a comprehensive collection of the works of his forefathers; residing in the neighbourhood, he had the pick of all discoveries, and could thus secure objects of the greatest interest. Mr. H. Hetjens, who conducted at his own expense important excavations at Raeren, as he had done at Siegburg, has formed the largest collections of fragments. Large quantities have also passed into the hands of M. President Schuermans, Vicaire Schmitz, and many others. A very curious selection can be studied in the K. Kunst und Gewerbe Museum of Berlin, to which we are indebted for most of the potters' marks reproduced in this chapter.

RISE, PROGRESS, AND DECLINE OF THE TRADE.

THE local chronicles do not, unfortunately, go far enough back in Mediæval times to inform us whether pot works existed there at a very early period. The first mention of a potter's name in ancient documents occurs in 1486; it is a deed of sale of some land situated at Titfeld, bought by a certain Peter Wilde, "Kruchenbecker"; many other names of "Jugbackers" appear subsequently in the official acts preserved in the archives, but the name of Wilde does not reappear in any of them. These early records tell us very little concerning the state of the craft at the end of the fifteenth

century; we regret to add that those of a later date throw scarcely any more light upon its most flourishing period. It is only with the year 1619 that documentary information is at last obtainable, in the form of the first regulations the members of the craft framed for their own guidance, when they decided to constitute themselves into a close Guild, after the trade had remained for so long free and open to all. To reconstitute the various phases of its existence before the promulgation of these statutes, we can rely only on the comparative study of the ware, and we must leave to speaking specimens the telling of their own tale.

Peter Wilde and his contemporaries had very likely nothing to do with the ornamented stoneware; their production was limited to the common earthenware which,



Fig. 76. Hetjens Coll. Height, 5½ in.

from time out of record, was made almost everywhere—jugs and pots of small sizes, garnished with rough handles, and incised with crossed lines in most primitive patterns. The foot is always impressed with the thumb of the workman; this bossy and waved foot is a peculiar feature common to most of the mediæval pottery of northern Europe. Were it not that some of the oldest specimens are already fired at a very high degree of temperature, nothing in these clumsy jugs could foreshadow the fine brown ware that was soon to result from such an unpromising starting-point.

The result of the excavations show plainly that, contrarily to what has happened in other places, this initiatory period was of short duration; the roughly-fashioned

and ill-formed earthen pots were, almost without transition, transformed into vases of refined material and of perfect workmanship. Judging from the way in which they lay mixed in the diggings, hardly the lapse of a few years can separate the two styles of manufacture. We have no reason to question the authenticity of the fragment in the possession of Mr. Hetjens, bearing the date 1539. Its fine brown tint, the brightness of its glaze, vouch for the degree of perfection stoneware-making had already attained. Yet only a little time could have elapsed since the rude fabrics of the commencement had received their first improvements. We see from other evidence that the earliest ways and means were still resorted to by the generality of pot-makers, and the more common ware, which was made at the same time as the dated fragment, offers no perceptible variation in their primitive fashioning from the undecorated jugs of the beginning.

In the deepest strata of buried refuse, mixed with fragments of the plainest and commonest ware, are found small drinking-vessels with some pretence at ornamentation, so stiff and uncouth in appearance that we might be tempted to believe them at least a century older than they are in reality. They are clumsily embossed with personages dressed after the fashion of the knave of old playing-cards, and standing in the attitudes of the doughty knights and noble dames represented on the earliest woodcuts (fig. 76). In point of make, they have been just as roughly handled by the potter as the early undecorated pots with which they are found associated. A still more antique semblance is imparted to them by the Gothic inscription placed sometimes by the side of the figures.

Upon one example, given here (fig. 77), we find a clue to the date at which such curious pieces were really made. One of the princes represented upon the vessel is Phillip II. of Spain, son of Charles V., to whom is given the title of King of England. As this prince bore that title only between 1555 and 1556, after his marriage with Queen



Fig. 77. Soil Coll. Height, 5½ in.

Mary, our specimen could not possibly be anterior to those years, and yet for rudeness of treatment, we might say even for archaic feeling, one would feel inclined to see in it the work of some mediæval image-carver. It is necessary therefore, in the face of this curious example, to be always on guard against mere appearance in the question of dates and speculative attribution.

There is, happily, an end to bare conjecture as soon as we come to the next period, when the practice of cutting into the moulds the date of their making set in, and was soon generally adopted. The earliest instance of it is found on a small bartman, studded all over with impressed rosettes forming a diaper ground, preserved in the Kunst und Gewerbe Museum of Cologne. It is dated 1556, and bears on the front the mark reproduced on fig. 78.

Through this charming specimen we become acquainted with the improved condition the trade had already reached in the second half of the sixteenth century.



Fig. 78.

From that time onward there were very few vases of any importance made without the inscription of the year, if not of its actual manufacture, at least of the cutting of the moulds employed in its decoration. By this means we can easily follow the march of the industry through the long years of its established prosperity. We are however obliged to acknowledge that, in the first dated specimens just mentioned, we get as perfect examples of brown ware as ever came out of the kilns of the Raeren potter; the subsequent improvements were more particularly directed towards a

greater beauty of design and richness of ornamentation. In the year 1565 the best masters were already at work. The names of those who made themselves more conspicuous amongst their contemporaries, Baldern Mennicken and Jan Emens, begin to appear in 1568, and remain in evidence till 1592. Then the number of ovens erected in the place was augmenting from year to year, and the ever-increasing production could not keep pace with the demands of the merchants who exported the new ware to the north countries of Europe. In England we see a certain William Simpson addressing a request to Queen Elizabeth towards 1570, in which he complains that "one Garret Tynes, a straunger, lyvinge in Acon, in the partes beyond the seas, being none of her Maiestes subjectes, doth buy upp all the pottes made at Cullein, called drinking stone pottes and he only transporteth them into this realm of England and sellet them," etc., and he therefore asks to be granted the privilege of introducing himself these "stone pottes" into England. Although the merchant of Aix-la-Chapelle might also have sold the white ware of Siegburg, the brown ware was particularly appreciated, as we can judge from the number of jugs of that kind which, mounted in chased silver, have

become heirlooms in many English families. Not long ago, the royal arms and monograms with which they are sometimes decorated were thought sufficient to mark them as being of British manufacture; now that the diggings of Raeren have brought to light, not only similar pieces, but also the moulds of all their medallions and coats of arms, this idea cannot any longer be entertained. The jug given on fig. 79 is one of that special manufacture intended for the foreign market; it bears different subjects on its three faces, viz.: the royal arms of England, the crowned monogram E. R. (Elizabeth Regina), with the repeated date 1576, and the maker's mark, I. E. (Jan Emens).

We cannot have better proof of the importance importation had attained at that time than the large number of stoneware bottles still to be found in England. Raeren did not keep very long the monopoly of the foreign trade, and had soon to divide it with the competitive centres of Frechen, and, later on, of Bouffieux, where works were started for the very purpose of taking a share in the success of the original brown ware by means of inferior imitations. As a compliment to the foreign customer, the ware was inscribed with sentences in what was thought to be his own language. Thus we have the following maxim, translated from the German one:



Fig. 79. Hetjens Coll. Height, 7 in.

DRINCK . VND . EATE . GOD . AND . HIS . COMMANDEMENT . (NIC) NOT . VERGAET.

where we can easily recognize the spelling of a Flemish workman writing an English sentence just as he pronounced it. Also the motto of the Garter thus written:

HONI . SOIT . QUI . MAL . PENSE . EILSABET . DEI . GRATIA . REGINA . ANNO 1594.

In the Low Countries, and in Germany itself, Raeren had absolutely secured the market for the brown stoneware, which had at once obtained great favour with the public. As Siegburg could not produce it at all, and the small factories on the Rhine turned out only very common articles not fit to stand the comparison, the Flemish potter supplanted the German on his own ground, and sent all over the empire drinking vessels stamped with the arms of the towns for which they had been

manufactured. Cologne, Mayence, Frankfort, Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, Amsterdam, Deventer, Maeseyck, Liège, and many others, are represented on the Raeren armored jugs. Of a fine vase inscribed with the names of all the provinces of Holland, and of another bearing the escutcheons of the Swiss Cantons, a sufficient number of replicas is still in existence to denote a large trade with these countries. With France, where makers of earthenware pots and dishes abounded as early as the sixteenth century, and which besides was not a beer-drinking nation, the importation could not be carried on so extensively; yet we have good evidence that there also a commercial connection had been firmly established.

Jugs after the French shapes, vases with portraits of royal personages, were expressly manufactured. A very fine bottle of the Weckherlin collection, photographed in the series of pieces published before its dispersion, but now, we think, destroyed, is reproduced here, fig. 80, as an example of the superior articles made for the French market. The figure in full length of Henry III. of France stands in the middle, accompanied with the medallions of Charles V., Phillip II. of Spain, and their Queens, placed on each side. It bears on the neck the millesim 1568, and on the central part 1573, which must be the date of the specimen itself, the mould used for the top band having been borrowed from an anterior model.



Fig. 80. Anc. Coll., Weckherlin. Height, 16 in.

Even so far away as Sweden and Norway the Raeren jugs were exported by the merchants and made the object of a regular trade. The important collection of Mr. Widerberg, of Christiania, is said to have been formed almost exclusively with specimens picked up in cottages and private houses of the small towns of the country, where, a few years ago, they were still found in plenty. So large had become the sale of Flemish ware in these northern parts, that several factories were started at Helsingborg in Scania; and soon home-made articles replaced those previously introduced from abroad. It is needless to

say that many of the stone pots now found in Sweden and Norway may therefore come from these local factories, and not, as it is believed, from the old centres, whose productions they resemble closely.

During these times of prosperity, commencing towards 1560, and up to 1619, the date of the first statutes, there is no sign of falling off in the constant improvement of the ware, the energy displayed in renewing the stock of moulds and models, or in the taste evident in their application to fresh and fanciful forms. Through modifications brought in the mode of firing, a stoneware of light grey colour was manufactured for the first time in the latter part of the sixteenth century. On the light grey ground the oxide of cobalt produces a pure and brilliant blue, instead of the dull and dark tint it gives to the brown clay. This was an important innovation; through its adoption the ware became more gay and pleasant to the eye, and a new impetus was given to the industry of the district. The grey and blue jugs were to remain for centuries afterwards the favourite beer-drinking vessels, when the brown ware had long been given up for the making of fancy articles.

SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE POTTERS.

OWING to the dearth of local chronicles, we know but little about the customs and habits of the Flemish potters at the outset of their industry, and during the first period of prosperity which followed it. Much is left to our imagination to realize how different must have been the existence of these independent artisans, living and working in freedom in their rural village, and the life of the formal member of the Siegburg Guild, at work under strict rules, behind the high walls of the old abbatial town.

The middle of the sixteenth century sees the craft of Raeren composed of a small number of operatives, each struggling to the best of his ability to introduce taste and refinement into their coarse manufacture; while at Siegburg at a corresponding period existed already a numerous and well-organized corporation of skilled and happy town-folks, producing in solidarity, and having since many years brought the practice of their trade to a point of perfection they could hardly hope to surpass.

Many circumstances, however, stood in favour of the country potters. In their out-of-the-way district, over-crowding and over-producing—the constant fear of the townsman—had not to be guarded against. All requisites were at hand and in plenty; clay and fuel forming, on the spot, an inexhaustible supply. Therefore, far from keeping away the stranger, so much dreaded everywhere else, anyone was welcome to join the settlement and assist with his individual effort in the development

of the promising industry. Under such conditions we can understand how it came to pass that, in a short time, they found themselves the competitors of the celebrated masters of Germany. But in their newly-altered fortunes the same feelings of independence and liberty continued to guide the Flemish potters in the conduct of their business. The trade remained open to all, with the exception of a few conditions and restrictions agreed upon by the masters amongst themselves to regulate their commercial intercourse. There was no rule, no law, that was not self-imposed, and no civil authority had a right to interfere and impose their observance. To obtain experienced workmen and entice them from any of the already established factories, presented great difficulties; the staff of a Limburg pot works was then of necessity recruited in the locality. The farm supplied the common labourer, and all serviceable lads were pressed into apprenticeship, to become, after careful training, the best hands of the workshops. Such an aggregate of artisans, nearly all born on the spot, was consequently bound to form a sort of clan, growing year after year more and more inclined to exclusiveness. They mixed little with the inhabitants of the towns, with whom they had little to do: business with the outer world was conducted by the merchants with whom they principally used to deal; and in the rare instances when they had to communicate with private customers, the transactions were generally effected through the intervention and goodwill of the religious fathers of the neighbouring convents, namely, the Brothers of St. John of the Cross, who resided at Raeren, and the monks of Corneli-Münster of Aix-la-Chapelle. Through these patrons they obtained recommendations to high and powerful dignitaries of the Church, and commissions for the supply of stoneware pottery to large communities. To the same benevolent protectors they owed also the occasional loan of engravings or relief models, from which they drew inspirations and actual materials for novelties in their own art. Yet we regret to say that these kind patrons and well-wishers could not, as it appears, extend their moral direction beyond the limits of work and business; as a matter of fact they exercised scarcely any influence at all over the private lives of the pot-makers and their public behaviour on festive occasions. Once let loose after work, the jolly potter knew no restraint, and at last things came to such a pass that the local magistrates thought it their duty to interfere with the reckless drinking, brawling, rioting of the operatives, and the extravagant expenses to which they were generally addicted. In 1580 Philippe Lomont, "Drossart" of the ban of Walhorn, in whose jurisdiction Raeren was situated, tried to make an example of one of them, and summoned before the court one of the leading masters "to answer for the scandalous life he was accused of living, to be sentenced to see his name struck off the rolls, and be expelled from the craft." A threat which was

never carried out, as the name of the delinquent continued to appear on the registers for many years after.

This propensity to fighting, drinking, and squandering his wages on the part of the potter when at play, is touched upon by one of the articles of the first statutes; but it consists merely of good advice and warning on the consequences attending a dissolute life; it ends, as if the case were almost hopeless, with the remark: "That the present statutes have been enacted mainly with the view of maintaining a good standard of manufacture, rather than to regulate the private conduct of the members of the Guild."

STATUTES AND RULES OF THE TRADE.

BEFORE the year 1619 no written law had yet imposed its rule and brought any restrictions upon the initiative and freedom of the pot-maker of Raeren, and under that state of things, very unusual in the sixteenth century, his business had expanded and flourished marvellously. Of course it is not to be expected that, in those times, a body of artisans would have worked so long together at the same trade without having tacitly adopted a few regulations, settling in a matter-of-fact way some of the principal points of general interest. When, through an unknown cause, the masters decided to replace their old liberty of action by the stringent and complicated legislation of a constitution framed upon the pattern of the one in force at Siegburg, they did not forget to state in the first article of their new statutes that for more than fifty years previously the members of the craft had virtually recognized the necessity of uniting their efforts by forming themselves into a brotherly association.

A succinct analysis of the statutes of 1619 and 1760, the first of which is merely the official sanction of long-approved customs, will do much to make us understand the conditions of the trade in its brightest period, and with what simplicity it was at first administered; complications in the rules being only introduced at a period when the industry had begun to decline.

The first charter, preserved in the imperial archives in Berlin, is composed only of ten articles, all of which were reproduced in that of 1760, granted by Maria Theresa. This second charter contained thirty-eight additional articles, providing for all emergencies, and settling all debatable questions which formerly were adjudged upon by the council of the Guild, in accordance with the custom of the craft. The original document, written in old Flemish, was discovered by Mr. Vicaire Schmitz amongst the papers of an ancient Raeren family. Mr. H. Schuermans has given a French translation of it in the "*Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Liegeois*." We transcribe hereafter its principal provisions.

Every two years a general assembly of all the potters was to proceed to the election of the council or governing body; it consisted of seven directors, three of which held the functions of registrar, collector, and mayor or president; a minor official was also appointed with the title of "ecoutète," a sort of clerk or bailiff, who convened the meetings, collected the fines, etc., and represented the executive. All transgression of any of the ten articles of the first statutes was to be punished by a fine of eighteen gold florins. In the winter, work was to be suspended from All Saints to the 17th of March, the feast of St. Gertrude. At Siegburg the same rest was observed between Martinmas and Ash Wednesday. But this enforced interruption in the labours of the workshop was not intended to be a time of idleness; ovens were repaired, new tools were made, and new models prepared. Each master had to fetch from the quarries the supply of clay required for the following year, and such leisure as was left to him after he had attended to these various occupations he devoted to the tilling of his fields and garden. This was by no means an unimportant part of his daily business, for we perceive that at Raeren every one was as much an agriculturist as a potter. In a case of urgency, when an important order was not completed by the end of the working year, and ran the risk of being left in sufferance, leave could be obtained to work for a fortnight beyond that time. All night-work was prohibited, and a fine of eighteen gold florins was imposed as a penalty for any infraction of this rule; this was considered a matter of such importance, that in the second charter this heavy penalty was maintained.

The masters' sons only, residing in the parish, were permitted to enter the craft as members.

A son was bound to work with his father up to the age of twenty-six, at which age he was allowed to settle in business and work on his own account. One exception however was made for orphans, who, on attaining their twentieth year, were permitted to establish themselves.

No candidate could obtain his master's certificate unless he had satisfied the council as to his fitness and ability, and had presented a satisfactory masterpiece, the work of his own hands.

Only certificated masters could manufacture and sell the ware. Any workman who, in the face of this prohibition, attempted to fire and sell stoneware pots on his own account, was liable to a fine of eighteen gold florins, and to be debarred for ever from working at his trade within the district.

In accordance with the right granted to the Guild by the Act of 1619, the clay required by the master potters could be extracted from any land belonging to the parish or to the state, on condition that the ground was levelled again and left in good order after the extraction of the clay. At the beginning of the working year, the clay being ready

for removal to the workshops, it was allotted by the council between all the masters. Each one had to render an accurate account of the share he had received the previous year, and to state whether it had all been used; in the event of his having manufactured a quantity of pots not equivalent to his grant of clay, his next supply was reduced by the amount supposed to be still in his hands.

The council was empowered to settle all disputes arising between the members; they could, however, appeal from their decision to the magistrates of the Ban of Walhorn.

Owing to a most singular state of things, which in itself denotes how completely the Raeren potters worked on the co-operation principle, there is no mention in the statutes of any private factory; the ovens, erected at any place which best suited the convenience of the surrounding workshops, are represented as public property, and we are told that they were kept in repair at the public cost.

Each master, or master's widow without children, was entitled to three-quarters of an oven, or 225 feet, each oven being reputed 300 feet in capacity. This allocation was increased by an eighth of an oven for each child depending on its parents. The officers of the Guild received, in consideration for the trouble they incurred in fulfilling their gratuitous offices, either an eighth or a quarter of an oven over and above the portion to which they were entitled by their right as masters of the craft.

The seven masters composing the council watched over the strict observance of the statutes, periodically inspected the workshops, and, occasionally, even the private dwellings of the workmen, to assure themselves that no fraudulent manufacture of stoneware was stealthily carried on.

The charter ended with various dispositions concerning the sale of the ware; the taxes and duty to be paid to the Guild; and the obligation for each master to set down in the common register a written statement of all sales and commercial transactions with his customers, whom he was bound to furnish with a detailed certificate of guarantee for the good quality of the goods he had delivered.

As it often occurred that the masters had to complain that an unfair competition threw on the market cheap and vile imitations which were offered as genuine Raeren ware, the last articles of the statutes of 1760 go so far as to determine the form and sizes of three selected types to which all masters shall have henceforth to confine their manufacture, and never on any consideration be permitted to depart from. These special patterns being registered as private property of the Raeren Guild, no one would be allowed to copy them, and thus would be established the guarantee of authenticity the potters were anxious to impart to their own productions. We must not forget that the promulgation of the first statutes by Albert, Archduke of Brabant, concurs with the commencement of the Thirty Years' War in 1620; and from that time forth things

went from bad to worse. They did not see, it is true, like the potters of Siegburg, their works and ovens destroyed by the combatants, but the invasion practically cut off all communication, and their industry, from want of an outlet, was ruined, like most of the other industries of the country. Consequently, after the year 1620, the artistic excellence of the Raeren ware was no longer maintained; large and rich vases were still made at intervals, but by means of the old models; we see no more important moulds cut, and inscribed with a posterior date, and after 1630 there was scarcely any pretence even at producing richly-ornamented stoneware. The Guild was not however extinct for all that, although gradually diminishing in importance; one after another, the masters left the place to try their fortune on new ground, and those who remained, with hardly any workmen to assist them, limited their productions to such common crocks as were saleable in the immediate neighbourhood. We find them reduced to this precarious state, when, in hope of inducing a revival of their former prosperity, the Raeren potters submitted to the sanction of the Empress Maria Theresa the new regulations proposed by the Guild. The charter was granted in 1760, but it proved a poor remedy for the evils from which they suffered, and failed to restore any vitality to their trade. A report drawn four years afterwards, in 1764, by the inspector of manufactories, tells us plainly to what a degree of debasement and decline the industry had then fallen. It records the sad fact that the whole craft was found to consist of only eight masters; four residing at Raeren and four at Neudorf; all firing their ware in common. Nevertheless, for many years afterwards stoneware-making persisted in the land, dragging on a precarious existence. No other industry had supplanted the old one, and the inhabitants still depended upon it for a scanty living. In 1806, says Thomassin, it gave employment to about 130 hands; this number gradually dwindled, until finally, in 1850, they fired an oven for the last time at Raeren.

Not a vestige of the old factories, not a single oven in ruins, remains to-day; the last one having been pulled down in 1881. It belonged to Mr. Mathias Mennicken, who made use of it, not to fire pottery, but—so passes away earthly glory—for the humble purpose of calcining lime!

A few years ago, more as an experiment than as a regular trade, Mr. Sichel, a stone quarry proprietor, erected a kiln or two on his grounds. There, between blasting and hewing huge blocks of rock, he devotes his leisure to turning, decorating, and firing clever reproductions of old types of brown stoneware. So clever indeed are his spurious masterpieces, for which the actual ancient moulds are often used, that they have become a subject of lucrative speculation for the unscrupulous curiosity dealer, and of well-grounded apprehension to the timorous collector.

MANUFACTURE.

IN point of technics the Raeren brown ware had been raised by its makers almost to the highest perfection. No special methods were however used which were not afterwards employed at other places, but nowhere have they yielded such effective and superior results. Salt-glazing, generally so faulty at Siegburg, was here completely mastered; from the first the ware had been remarkable for the rich bronze colour of its glaze. Potting difficulties—such as the making of pieces of extraordinary size, or of an elaborate and delicate description—were daily attempted and surmounted. The excavations show how a small imperfection sufficed for a piece to be thrown away on the rubbish heap; and through the relentless supervision of the overseers, a high standard was maintained.

All we have said at another place about the general process of manufacture of brown stoneware applies principally to the fabrics of Raeren; we shall not therefore have to record any departure from the usual mode of fashioning and firing the ware, but the way of conducting business and managing the work offered some peculiarities proper to the locality, which, as well as the usages and customs of this brotherly craft, it is not without interest to relate.

The development of the stoneware industry having made of a rural hamlet a populous and active centre, the authority of the council elect was recognized as paramount over all the territory lying round the clustered villages of Raeren, Neudorf, Tüfel, and Merols. In the council were vested some rights, established at first by tradition and custom, and subsequently sanctioned by the charter of 1619. The potters were very jealous to assert and exact these prerogatives against all opposition, and on every occasion when an attempt was made to resist them. Amongst others, they upheld to the end their ancient privilege of digging for clay upon whichever spot they might select for that purpose. The privilege had been granted to them under the sole condition that they should not interfere with plantations and crops, that they should fill up the exhausted pit, and give compensation to the owner when damage had been done within the limits of private property. This right was exercised in such a high-handed manner as to give rise to endless litigation between the potters and the landed proprietors of the district; after protracted and costly lawsuits the difference was generally settled in the end by arbitration.

The soil of Raeren itself supplied the commonest clay, from which rough kitchen and drinking utensils, in use amongst the peasants, were only made. In certain places, here and there, a vein of reddish clay was found, which was reserved for the making of certain covered pots called "Kraussen"; a special form in great demand in the

towns of North Germany. But for choice articles, such as the pieces made by the able workman when applying for a mastership, also for special sets of rich vases ordered by the nobility, or intended as presents, a finer clay was required; this was found at a short distance, in the parish of Eynatten. It was of difficult extraction, the strata lying at a depth of twenty-five or thirty feet. From a shaft, sunk straight down to the level of the bed of clay, lateral underground galleries had to be cut and enlarged until the required quantity of material was abstracted and brought to the surface.

It was during the winter season, when work in the shops was stopped, that this digging for clay took place. At the same time the provision of fuel was cut down in the surrounding woods, brought to the works, and stocked under the sheds; new ovens were built, and old ones repaired or demolished. This in itself gave occupation to many hands. It is said that at one time the number of ovens standing in the four villages amounted to two hundred.

Thus it appears that all the necessities of manufacture were at hand on the spot; with the exception of the salt for glazing, obtained from Unna in Westphalia, and the oxide of cobalt, then known as "Prussian blue," which came from Leipzig.

The mention of Cobalt blue brings to mind the fact that, if there is a technical innovation the Raeren potter may claim as his own, it is the method of staining the ware with blue glaze. Even the early brown pieces shows its application, still in an imperfect state, but at a time when it had not been tried in any other place. This oxide was not known in Germany so early as in the Italian States, where it was regularly employed by the majolica painters at the end of the fifteenth century. It was only in 1540 that the Saxon Christofer Schürer is reported to have discovered the ore in the mines of Schneeberg; he succeeded in melting it with glass for the first time, and produced with the mixture glass vessels of a fine blue colour. The discovery must, therefore, have very soon been turned to good account by the Limburg pot makers. Other centres hastened to take advantage of a happy notion which did so much to enliven the dulness of stoneware; but one must be guarded, let it be said by the way, against accepting the opinion, accredited by some authors, that the use of blue glaze originated in the Grenzhausen factories.



Fig. 81. FROM A GREY AND BLUE JUG. Figdor Coll.

POTTERS AT WORK AND AT PLAY.

WHEN came the feast of St. Gertrude, on the 17th of March, and before work was resumed, there was a general merry-making of three days' duration. A meeting of the whole craft was convened to proceed to the election of new officers; after which, the members duly returned assembled in council and proceeded at once to discuss the business of common interest and to settle the allotting of the share each master was to receive on the operations of the following year. Banqueting and dancing were the order of the day; friendly calls, social duties and congratulations, adjournment to the next beer-house, protracted wakes, terminating invariably in a general fight, constituted the festivities. We can see an accurate representation of the principal scenes of these gala days embossed on the friezes of the brown ware; the peasants dancing, and the toppers drinking at the inn, have all been duly represented on the jugs. If we have to regret that these pictures are not altogether the original conception of a native artist, we must still acknowledge that, when the engravings of the German master were chosen for



Fig. 82

reproduction, the jolly potter, to his intense satisfaction, had recognized in them a striking likeness to himself and his compeers tripping it on the village green, or discussing the last brew at the roadside inn; after they had passed through his hands he had instilled in their interpretation much of his own spirit. The rejoicings and rioting over, work was resumed all over the district. Labourers diluted the clay and marched it in shallow troughs, beat it with the flail upon a brick-built area, removed carefully every pebble or foreign particle, and having shaped it into square blocks, piled these under a shed, where they remained until required by the workmen. A few of the implements used in these various operations are represented on the potters' arms. In the workshops master and men rectified and regulated the wheels; the mould-cutter engraved the models required for the execution of the orders of the season—armored medallions with the shield of some noble customer, or fancy subjects bearing the trademark of the patronizing merchant; the thrower got up the shapes on the wheel, and when ready passed them to the finisher, who disposed upon the empty spaces bands of figures and ornaments, rosettes of stamped or raised work, and at last completed the piece with handles or spouts. The goods being ready, marked, and well dried, they were brought to the firing place. We have already alluded to the strange conditions under which all ware was fired at Raeren; a local custom we believe to be without an equivalent in any other manufacturing centre. No private oven was attached to the working premises of the masters; on a central site large ovens were built, kept and fired at common expense, and remained common property. Special provisions introduced in the statutes fixed the exact portion of an oven to which each master was entitled; he was not obliged to fill it at one time, but could bring his work by installments to successive firings until he had made up his allotted share. Consequently an ovenful contained the work of many masters, each contributing his contingent of ware to be fired. In this we can trace a survival of a system established at the outset, when each potter worked single-handed and could only turn out a small quantity of pots. He associated himself with his neighbours, and with their united productions gradually filled an oven which was fired, when ready, for their joint benefit. From the necessity created in this manner, and in order that each maker might recognize at a glance the articles belonging to him, arose probably the practice, so constant at Raeren, to mark the ware with names and monograms.

With regard to the commonest pots, upon which a mark seldom appears, we may assume that the minor factories had each adopted one or two special shapes, and each keeping to his speciality, no contestation as to the ownership of the ware could arise when, the oven being opened, its contents were distributed amongst the potters waiting to claim their work.

Vicaire Schmitz gives a translation of a curious document still preserved by the

descendants of the writer, which, under the form of advice addressed by an experienced father to his son about to enter into business, contains much valuable information concerning the best rules for building an oven, and the precautions to be observed in the conduct of firing. It is signed by Mattheis Peitz, an old Raeren master potter, and dated 1746.

We see in it that the oven is to be oblong in shape, nine yards long and three broad, and that it should be built on slanting ground, so that the top end should stand two feet higher than the front part. Without entering into all the minute particulars connected with the construction, we cannot however forget to mention the peculiar vault with which it was roofed in. In a preceding chapter we have described in detail how this vault was formed of a succession of arches, constructed by means of earthen pots fitting into each other, and cemented with clay. A double wall of blue stone protected the whole building, in the same way as the "hovel" surrounds an English earthenware oven.

All the goods being placed in, the furnaces being loaded with wood, and before setting fire to them, the curé was called to ask a blessing upon the venture; the present incumbent still remembers having blessed the last ovenful at Raeren in 1850.

The firing lasted forty-eight hours; after the necessary time for cooling had elapsed the doors were opened, and each potter claimed his own work. All imperfect articles were condemned to be destroyed by the master who acted as overseer during the examination of the ware; the destruction of any piece not faultless having been made obligatory by the statutes.

Did the result of the firing prove a happy one, it was made the occasion of rejoicing amongst those who had an interest in its success. Friends were invited to a feast, each being expected to bring his contribution in kind to the repast, which was to be prolonged far into the night. These fraternal banquets remained customary as long as potters worked at Raeren; and we hear that they were kept up in a very modest fashion, the fare consisting mainly of rice boiled in milk, highly spiced with cinnamon, and served in a large bowl into which each guest dipped his wooden spoon in turn, and of an unstinted supply of gingerbread as an extra delicacy. The account of these gatherings, and of the frugal fare thought sufficient for a festive day, tells us much about the more than modest condition of the every-day life of the operatives in a stoneware factory, and it clearly evidences the feelings of sociability and good fellowship which actuated the little confraternity at work or at play.



Fig. 83. FROM A GREY AND BLUE JUG. Figdor Coll.

POTTERS AND MODELLERS.

Fig. 84.
FROM A BROWN JUG.
Stuttgart Museum.

THE task of tracing, through his particular works, the share that falls to each master, in raising to the level of an art the rude handicraft of his ancestors, so perplexing when undertaken in connection with the Siegburg ware, becomes at Raeren comparatively easy. From the crowd of names, handed down to us by the public registers and private documents, a few striking individualities stand out conspicuously, throwing the others into insignificance. The care they took to sign and date their pieces allows us to follow several of the masters through their whole career.

Concerning some of them, unfortunately we are still left in uncertainty as to the exact part they may have taken, and we are not sure whether we must consider them as having actually been working potters, or merely "cartemakers" or "formschneiders," that is to say, artists and mould-cutters. In many cases the potter himself is answerable for all the work and deserves all credit for its merits; independently of the modellers, who possibly assisted him, he may, in our estimation, be accounted a real artist, often of great taste and judgment. The course through which a stoneware vase passes from its beginning to its completion, shows that the original notion, the tracing of the form, is always due to the turner, who builds it up on the wheel between his fingers according to his passing fancy. Then if the same man proceeds to adorn it with the application of certain relieved ornaments which he chooses out of a stock of decorative materials, consulting only his own taste, he may to all intents and purposes be considered as the author of the work before him. With some few exceptions, moulds and models do not look as if made with the idea of fitting a given shape of vase or jug; they were executed rather in an arbitrary manner, as fragments of useful proportions with which any number of combinations might be obtained, and which might be made to fit any of the pots most usually

manufactured. To that effect the subjects were engraved on flat surfaces; and the potter required from the "cartemakers" only a few sets of medallions, friezes and masks, together with a certain number of bands, ornamented with egg and dart, acanthus leaves, etc., to relieve large spaces and narrow mouldings. These various elements he could arrange afterwards on his vases according to his fancy. In these flat moulds a very thin proof was pressed of the subject selected; this was bent so as to espouse the shape of the part to be decorated, and made to adhere to it with diluted clay. We are bound to confess that in many instances the selection appears to have been made somewhat at random, as the respective proportions of the applied subject and the place it occupies have not always been carefully calculated. This is the reason why we find the divisions of the gadroons placed on the inferior part of the vases so incorrect and irregular, also why in the friezes, composed of a series of scenes or compartments, some of the subjects are repeated twice, while others are omitted altogether.

On pieces made by the master's own hands we see none of these gross oversights disfiguring an otherwise elaborate piece. There is no lack of what we may consider as original types, carefully planned beforehand, and in the decoration of which nothing enters but what conduces to the harmonious composition of the whole. The leading craftsman was constantly busy in producing new models, one following immediately upon the other; to this the numbers of totally different pieces signed by the same hand bear witness; and in a case where we have to deal with a master potter who is also his own modeller, we have good reason to wonder at his extraordinary powers of production. When engaged in a new work, the sets of models employed for the previous one became useless to him, and these were then handed over to the ordinary workmen; these men, not much above common labourers, certainly did not put their pride in combining applied details with so much discrimination as the master, and were, for instance, perfectly indifferent as to placing side by side on the same piece fragments bearing two, and even three, different dates. There is no denying that a favourite frieze appears over and over again on the ware, yet we cannot say that it often occurs in conjunction with an identical shape, or with the same set of accessory ornamentation. A regular pattern was not then, as now, settled by the master to be reproduced exactly by his men; great latitude seems to have been left to each man in the variations he might like to introduce into a recognized type. For the shape he was not bound to obey accurately any given profile; curves and mouldings came out under his tool in endless modifications; for the decoration he could select out of a large stock of moulds the bands and medallions which would best suit a given surface. As a consequence of this practice, each piece had an interest of its own, none being the exact reproduction of another. This holds true, as

a general rule, with regard to the average of ornamented stoneware vases. In the case of the exceptional production by a master of one of those first-rate pieces we have just alluded to, the subjects employed were never thrown into the common stock. Therefore here, as at Siegburg, where it was obligatory to destroy models made upon order, the best friezes and figures have remained also the rarest of all; but at Raeren it seems merely owing to the reluctance of their maker to vulgarize what he considered his masterpieces.

If we take it for granted that there is no exception to the rule that the "cartemaker" trained in large towns was an independent auxiliary, and came only incidentally to assist the potter in the most artistic part of the work, his interference makes it difficult to assign the exact share of merit to be awarded to the latter. But in the Limburg factories things were different in this respect; we know that several of the leading masters were always their own cartemakers, and that many could dispense with the services of the professional modeller, whom others had to engage to enable them to keep pace with their more talented competitors.

Two well-defined personalities stand out amidst the group of Raeren potters, Baldem Mennicken and Jan Emens. Both worked at the same period, each has left impressed on his works the stamp of his strong individuality, and can claim for himself the undivided authorship of all the best specimens which bear his signature.

Noble and severe in shape, sober in adornment, the mighty ewers of Baldem Mennicken, with their towering neck surmounted with a classical lion's head in bold relief, and the broad expanse of their body girdled with an imposing array of princely and royal coats of arms, surpass, perhaps, in style and beauty all the best types of brown stoneware vases. No other by their side could show an equal purity of outline, and harmony of proportions; such an elegant simplicity of ornamentation combined with so much perfection of workmanship (fig. 85 and Plate IX.). The master would not willingly have signed any of the fantastic little pots with pleasant subjects and jovial devices, so much to the taste of his neighbours; his preference is markedly inclined towards more serious and formal productions. To his reflective mind a jug is something more than a meaningless vessel, intended at the best to amuse a party of convivial revellers. The severity of the form is enhanced by the melancholy tone of the religious and philosophical sentences he has most frequently inscribed on it. It is he who had chosen for his motto: *IN LEIDEN GEDOLT*:—"Patience in troubles." On one vase he describes himself as *ARMER MAN*:—"Poor man"; another time he engraves a prayer on the piece he is making: *BI . MEÏ : BALDEM . MENNICKEN . JESUS . CHRISTUS . ERBARM . DICH . MINNER*:—"Unto me, Baldem Mennicken, Jesus Christ be merciful!" Most lugubrious is the jug on

SAEREN, BROWN WARE
Jase by Ba'lem Monnickendam

F. 11.



in Kensington Museum

which, with death present to his mind, he modelled the crosses and tombs of a churchyard, and wrote over it the Latin sentence :

NASCENTES MORIMUR FINIS QUÆ (sic) AB ORIGINE PENDET.

There is no doubt about this being the work of his old age ; he signed it : M. DER A. (Mennicken der Alte), "the old" or "elder" ; one of his marks, but which he used very seldom. He is said to have represented himself as St. Paul, a profile head of a man of middle age, with flowing beard and curly hair, inscribed : B. M. ANNO 1575.

On the suite of figures he selected most usually to adorn the bands and friezes of his brown jugs the same sternness prevails in choice of subject and severity of execution ; they are rudely carved and ungraceful allegories of virtues and sciences, each designated by its name in large Roman letters :

GRAMMATICA. DIALECTA. RETORICA. ARI-(ME)TICA. MUSICA. GEOMETRIA. CARITAS. SPES. JUSTICIA. PRUDENTIA. TEMPERENTIA. FORTUNA.

In all the above examples the inner feelings of the man reveal themselves through his works. The clay he fashioned has kept more than the impress of his hand ; to it he has communicated something of his soul and spirit, and we are moved with compassion at the lamentation of the "armer man." The Mennicken family holds first rank among those connected with the making of stoneware at Raeren ; we find some of its members established in the earliest times on record, and from that time forth it never ceased to occupy a prominent position in the craft. The first stone pot-makers in the land must have counted a Mennicken amongst them, but the dates associated with the name on the ware do not go farther back than 1575. We must not forget to say that the date is found upon specimens denoting a well-



Fig. 85. EWER BY BALDEM MENNICKEN.
Anc. Coll. Felix. Height, 25 in.

established manufacture, having long since reached its highest degree of improvement. Some pieces marked with the initials of a Mennicken, and dated 1559, are said to be in existence, but none of them have come under our notice; whether the reading is correct—a point which may always be questioned with regard to so early a date—

and whether the figure 7 has not been taken for a 5, both being so nearly alike in German inscriptions, we have not been able to ascertain. Baldem Mennicken "the old" seems to have been the head of the long race of potters who bore his name. The family house, erected close to the pot works which have long since disappeared, is still standing opposite the church. It is known as "Bald's Haus" or Baldem's house, and the excavations in the adjacent grounds have been productive of a large quantity of fragments, chiefly of large vases of brown ware, or of grey relieved with blue. Many of these vases bore his name in full letters, to which is often added VON RORREN, by way of giving his address; an information nearly all stoneware makers have been careful to conceal. Some of the fragments disinterred on the same spot show the names of modellers: J. Emens, Robert Thievin, and others. It does not follow, however, that the old Baldem ever, of a certainty, had recourse to their assistance; his successors, who worked long after him in the same place, and did not produce models of their own, may have mixed together the discarded subjects they borrowed from various sources.

Another potter of the same name, and supposed to be the brother of the preceding, has marked his works: I. M. DIR JONGE: 1575, or Jan Mennicken the younger. This is also found accompanying religious and philosophical inscriptions, somewhat of the same turn as those of Baldem. To this worthy is supposed to have been dedicated a jug bearing the following inscription:

JOHAN VAN HOLLE DER JONGEN DRINK HERE IN GODES NAM UND LAT MIT
FREIDEM HERUM GANG.



Fig. 86. FROM A JUG
in the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Berlin.



Fig. 87. FROM A JUG
in the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Berlin.

"John the younger of the Holle [this was a locality situated in Raeren], drink in the name of God and pass it freely round."

The numbers of medallions found on the brown ware containing potters' marks which include one or more letter M's are considered as indicating different members of the same family. The three M's of fig. 86 are said to represent Merten Mennicken, and M. F. (fig. 87) to stand for Fast Mennicken.

Jan Baldems or Baldms, who has signed some vases with the date 1596, was probably a son of the old Baldem, who took his father's Christian name as his surname to distinguish himself from his numerous relatives and namesakes; this was a very common custom at the time, and he became Baldemson, or by contraction "Baldems." A curious canette, reproduced on fig. 88, and which once made part of the Huyvetter collection, has handed down to us an example of the strange style of this last master.

We can readily imagine, when we observe the rude and almost grotesque treatment of the central medallion, that Jan Baldems, less ambitious or in poorer circumstances than many of his contemporaries, would not, or could not, engage the services of a professional "cartemaker," and that, to the best of his untutored ability, he cut his moulds and models himself. A common engraving was to him a sufficient guide to carve such a subject in low relief; this one must have been borrowed from some of the rude woodcuts the clergy used to distribute amongst the children of poor people. The scene is depicted with all the simplicity of these primitive illustrations. We see



CANETTE BY JAN BALDEMS.
Fig. 88. South Kensington Museum. Height, 15 in.

Lazarus dying in peace, a woman in tears praying by his bedside, and his dog howling at his feet. Above the reclining figure of the dying man the image of his soul is borne to heaven by angels, and through the parting clouds the Almighty bends down to receive it. This medallion constitutes the only relieved decoration; there are no more lions' heads, recollections of the antique; no rich bands of ornament imitated from the masters of the Renaissance; from beginning to end it is the real work of the potter left to his own devices. All the ground is enriched with ramified stems, engraved by hand in the mass, each branch being terminated with a fleuron deeply stamped in with a seal: blue enamel has been rubbed all over the piece, but so as to stain only the level surface, and to leave untouched the grey colour of the clay within the cavities of the engraved design.

We have already named Jan Emens as one of the most eminent representatives of the potter's art at Raeren. His name would indeed stand foremost if we consider the fertility of his productions and the versatility of his talent. His well-known monogram so often meets our eye on good or indifferent specimens of brown stoneware, that all seems at one time to resolve itself in his personality. This master forms a most decided contrast with the old Mennicken, and we can hardly think of bringing them into comparison, so wide apart do they stand from each other; one takes pride in remaining formal and severe in all his conceptions, while the other endeavours to contrive nothing but what is graceful and pleasing. We feel bound to acknowledge him as a precious chaser of minute details, an embroider of arabesques, an ingenious inventor of intricate strap-work, if not always a classical limner and searcher for pure and sober forms. When Baldern Mennicken's stately ewers represent him to our mind as a stern and austere Puritan, what comes from the hand of Jan Emens speaks of an amiable, ingenious, vivacious spirit, actuated by the desire to charm and please.

The number of subjects he has signed, either with his full name or with his initials, proclaim him by far the most prolific of all stoneware modellers. There is no style of subject befitting stoneware that he has not treated, and always with the same elegant facility. In their turn, and to meet all demands, he has taken up heraldic devices, bands and medallions of renaissance ornament, figures in panels and long friezes, religious or mythological allegories, or scenes of peasant life; in short, subjects of every possible description. He went so far as to place his initials upon some questionable designs which would have been better left unexecuted.

A record of all that has already come under our notice would make a long list, but it could not be a complete one. Amongst stray pieces and fragments occasionally turning up, many models signed by him are still day after day discovered, which had so far escaped attention. The popular engravings of Aldegrevier, Virgilius Solis, Stephanus

de Laune, Theodore de Bry, and all the group of the small masters of his time, have supplied the designs for a large part of his basso-reliefs; a few special subjects however may be considered as the fruit of his own imagination. We shall have occasion to find his name associated with a great number of the specimens described in the following parts of this chapter, so we need not accompany this short notice with any figures representing selected examples of his talent; a little farther on they will occur on every page.

The artistic knowledge he has displayed in all his works precludes the notion of his having been educated as a potter in the village of Raeren, and induces us to assume that, trained in a large centre, probably Cologne, he came to offer his services in the pot works of the rising little locality.

He may first have worked with the Mennickens, and in this way would be explained the presence of their two monograms on certain vases; but having soon mastered the secrets of the trade,—the craft being then free and open to all,—rather than remain the ill-paid servant of a potter, he probably soon established himself on his own account. One of his earliest marks—on a jug of the Weckherlin collection, adorned with the busts of the twelve Apostles, in the style of Baldern Mennicken—is composed of his initials, to which is added an M; a combination which might mean that for a time a partnership had existed between them. On the pieces signed and inscribed by him the dates we have noted range from 1568 to 1592; Mr. Schuermans however, our best authority, places the period of his productions between 1556 and 1603.

A jug or ewer of unwonted dimensions, now in the National Museum at Munich (fig. 89), is the earliest work we have seen inscribed and dated with his own hand. From the inscription we gather that it is a friendly present intended for some one inhabiting Cologne; it runs thus:

ICH BEN EIN GROSE KAEN
WAN ICH BEN FOEIL WINS G
E DOEN DAN KONNEN SICH W.

AEL IRE DREI AEN MICH BEGOEN EN
D DAT, GESCHVIT OP EINEN HOGENB
ERCH SONDER FALEN DER MICH WAE.

These lines, incised in the clay in big letters about one inch in height, cover all the cylindrical part of the vase; nothing whatever by way of applied ornamentation enters in the decoration but two lions' heads in high relief, not pressed in a mould, but modelled by hand; one surmounts the neck and the other is placed in the centre, the inscription running right and left of it. On the cheeks of the higher one the maker has impressed his initials, I. E.; on those of the other the date 1568. On the posterior face, underneath the handle, three words are written in cursive characters, which we have not been able to decipher, and "Kolen 1568."

There is enough in this piece to excite our curiosity. First, the absence of any of the applied ornaments Jan Emens was so fond of lavishing on his work; and secondly, the presence of the very same lions' heads by means of which we usually recognize the vases of the elder Mennicken. These two observations go far towards

making good the supposition that at one time the two best potters of Raeren worked conjointly, and that, at the early date of 1568, Jan Emens, who had just joined the eminent master, either as apprentice or partner, was intent only on acquiring the practice of the trade, and, using only such models as were ready at hand, had not yet begun to design and carve his graceful subjects.

It is not long after this, however, that we find him in the full maturity of his talent. That he soon took the lead in the artistic industry of the place, his works amply testify. Far from considering himself a common workman, he took care to make it known, through the inscriptions on one of his vases, that he had full consciousness of the worth of an artist.

DEY KUNST HAET ALTIIT EY(NE)N VYANTE
DAT SYN DY GENIGE DYE DER KVNST NYT.
ENWETEN NOCH EN ERKENNEN. I. E.

"Art has its enemies,—those who ignore, or fail to understand art."

Another also most characteristic motto, bearing testimony to the artistic pride of the stoneware maker, is found on a very elaborate frieze, where the escutcheon of the town of Cologne, together with four other shields,

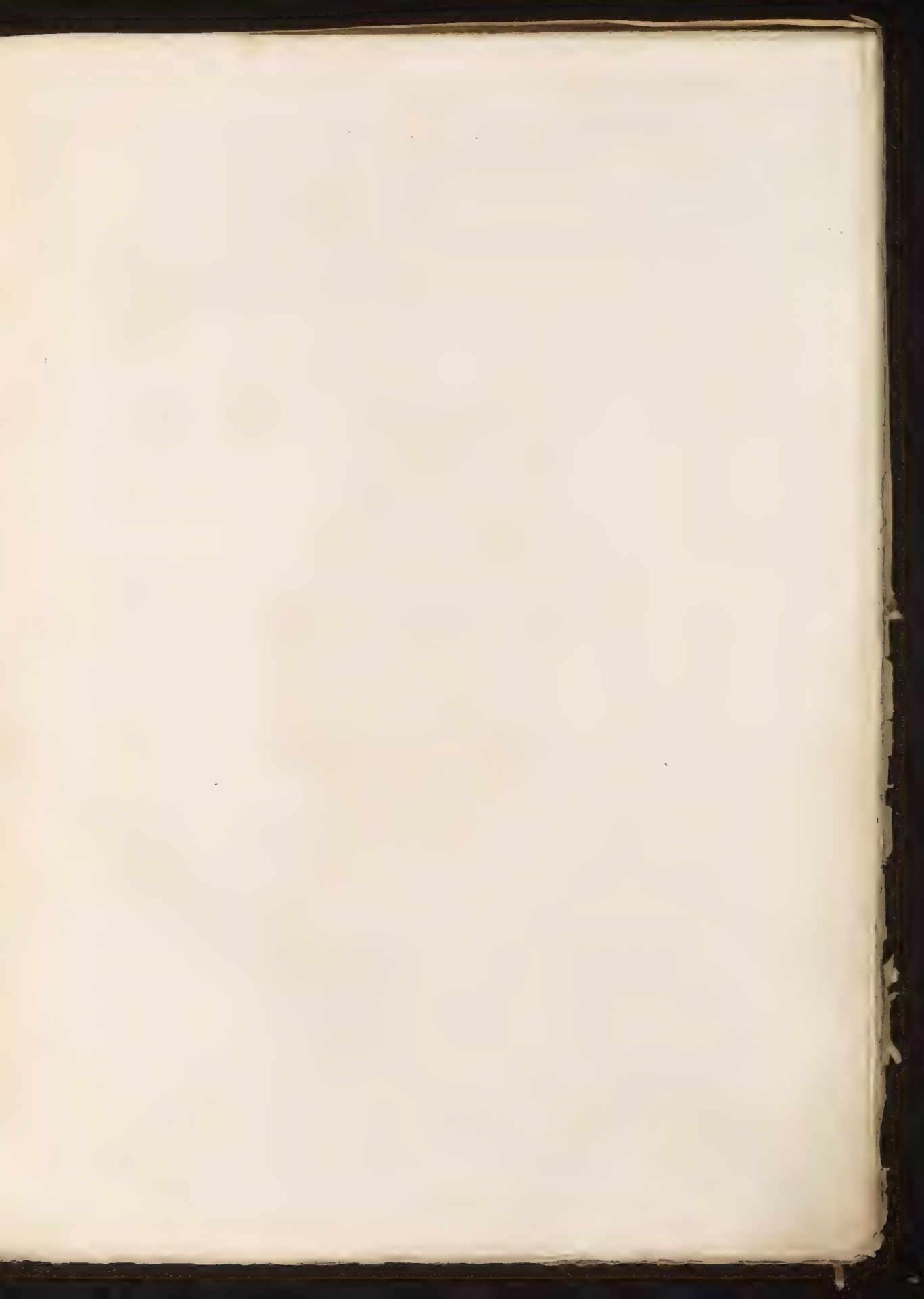


Fig. 89. JUG BY JAN EMENS.
Munich Museum.

figure, surrounded with graceful volutes of foliage and flowers.

DIT IS EIN KVNST DIE KVMPT AVS GOTTES GVNST. WER DIE KVNST NOCH SO
SCHON SO MOSSEN SEI SICH GEFFEN ZV DEN DOT. 1578."

"This is an art emanating from the grace of God; but were the art even more beautiful it is nevertheless doomed to destruction.



PAFFENBERGIAN WARE
 THE GREAT BRITAIN

1771



JOHN KILGUS, N. Y. N. Y.

PRINTED BY T. B. L. L. L.

Jan Emens was also the head of a long succession of master potters who settled in the district, or emigrated to Flanders and Germany, where we find his descendants in several places. At Raeren the family has still some representatives, but the patronymic has become altered into Emons or Emonts.

Of inferior notability were the following masters.

Engel Kran, whose name appears on the earliest lists, soon accompanied by that of his son Ballis or Balthazar Kran. On the local registers is preserved the record of certain charitable donations with which both had endowed their parish church: the family was of some importance in the craft, and gave several masters to the council. The monograms, not yet identified, which consist of a K associated with other letters, viz., I.K.—G.K.—F.K.—P.K., etc., may represent some members of the Kran family. Engel Kran, the best known among them, put his name in full upon one of the many friezes representing the "History of Susanna and the Elders." On this account he is generally believed to have been his own "cartemaker." This, however, seems to us far from being as yet a settled point. It would be strange that a modeller of such ability should have signed only a single subject, and that his name should not be found anywhere else but on the vase we are now referring to. Why not attribute it to a practical mould-cutter,—Jan Emens, for instance, who is well-known to have supplied many of the potters of the district with similar models, and who, besides, has also signed in full another "History of Susanna," differing only in size and in some insignificant details?

The inscription of the vase is as follows:

DIT . IS . DEI . SCHONE . HEISTORIA . VAN . SVISANNA . INT . KORTE . EIT .
GESNEIDEN . ANNO 1584. ENGEL KRAN.

Too much stress has been laid upon the word "gesneiden" being associated with the name of Engel Kran; if it may be taken as signifying "carved by," it may also refer to the subject of the sentence, and be read thus: "This is the beautiful history of Susanna in the garden, *here carved*."

As a master potter Engel Kran had a perfect right to affix his name, as a trade-mark, to a model cut for him by the "cartemaker." At any rate, he never made any pretence at having decorated a whole piece with his own hand; and on the "Susanna" vases we notice that all the smaller subjects accompanying the large frieze are signed by other modellers. One of the finest examples of the type, formerly in the Huyvetter collection, has the regular inscription, terminating with the name of the potter; but the monogram of Jan Emens, inscribed on a shield above it, occupies a still more

conspicuous position. On the face of that mark it would be difficult to affirm that Jan Emens is not, after all, responsible for all the artistic part of the work, although the vases may, at the same time, be marked by the manufacturer (Plate VIII.).

All the Krans seem to have repeated the same subject, one after the other. Between 1576 and 1637 we see it marked I.K.—E.K.—P.K.—F.K.—G.K.; initials which stand with greater probability for the mark of the potter than for that of the modeller.

Everard Kalf, a contemporary of the above master, had taken to himself as allusive arms "a calf grazing" (fig. 90). This mark is found on brown pieces, not of

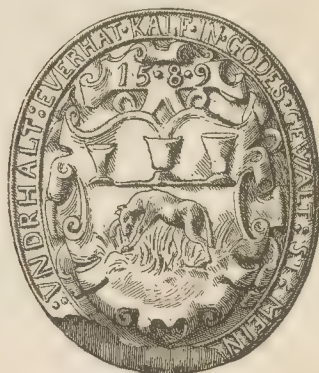


Fig. 90. Berlin Museum.



Fig. 91. Brussels Museum.

the highest class, but of good marketable ware. Round the medallion runs the following sentence :

IN GODES GEWALT IS MEIN VNDERHALT. EVERHART KALF 1589.

"To the power of God I owe my maintenance."

Jean Allers. This name, or the corresponding initials, appears on many medallions, panels, or bands of finely-chased reliefs, where birds and flowers are gracefully combined with branches and foliages. Although Jean Allers worked principally for the Raeren potters, he never settled permanently in the place, and his name was never inscribed on the registers; by his signed productions alone are we made aware of his connection with the craft. He enjoyed a certain consideration amongst his fellows, for the very shield considered as the potters' coat of arms was designed by him, if we trust to the two letters J. A. placed on each side (fig. 91). We may accept him as a good personification of the true "cartemaker"; an itinerant



FAIRFAX AND OLIVE WASE
Presented to the Library

111



• Hael: Clary Museum

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

artist, finding pleasure and profit in shifting his quarters from one factory to another. His master for the time being benefited by the experience he had acquired with another, therefore he was always readily engaged; and he did not scruple to transfer from place to place, either a practical method, or a happy suggestion for some new pattern he might have picked up in the course of his wanderings. A striking contrast to that of the steady worker at the wheel, was his Bohemian life; no one knew exactly whence he came, and when he vanished, after a short and productive stay, no one cared much to know whither he went. How it happened that the unicorn he had adopted as his crest, and his name in full, were placed upon the ware manufactured by others, is not so easily accounted for. We give here a small bottle with his private mark impressed on the sides (fig. 92). The inscription, Jean Allers, shows signs of having been partly obliterated on the pot, and looks as if the reliefs had only faintly reappeared after the firing. On many specimens bearing this mark we have made the same observation, and the name, when it shows at all, is difficult to make out, an attempt having evidently been made to scrape it off. For instance, on the pretty band of figures and ornaments reproduced on fig. 83, however sharp and neat all the other details may be, the name of the maker has been so tampered with as to become almost illegible. The design has been introduced into the decoration of a grey and blue vase, the most important part of which is signed by Jan Emens; it is a long and curious frieze, which will be found on figs. 80, 81.



Fig. 92. BOTTLE BY JEAN ALLERS.
Germanic Museum, Nuremberg. Height, 7 in.

On a fine jug of the Cluny Museum (Plate X.) we recognize once more the shield with the unicorn, embossed on the bottle given above; this time, not only has the name of Jean Allers been taken off, but it has been replaced by that of Leven Colein (Cologne?). The Leven were one of the notable families in Cologne. P. Leven was one of the first who, in the beginning of this century, had formed a collection of ancient stoneware. Fragments bearing Jean Allers' mark have been dug up at Bouffieux. He may, or may not, have worked for a time in the Walloon factories, but these fragments can hardly

be taken as a conclusive proof. All those which have been found are so very inferior in neatness of detail to what we know to have been done by him at Raeren, that we have good cause to suspect them of being second-rate impressions taken from the Limburg models.

The designs signed Jean Allers are generally inspired from the engravings of the small masters, particularly of Theodore de Bry; although they are seldom dated, we have met with his name accompanied by the date 1594.

Melsior Honckebour. This name appears on some pieces belonging to the best period, which bear the medallion here appended (fig. 93), where the initials M. H. are surmounted with the enigmatic 4. Whether this personage was a potter, or simply a merchant, remains uncertain; it is not probable, however, that he ever worked at the trade, for his name is not to be found upon any of the registers of the craft. The presence of the commercial sign over his monogram makes us disposed to accept the latter hypothesis.

The mark of H. H. designates a model-maker whose work is found at Siegburg as well as at Raeren. In the preceding chapter we have given our reasons for considering him an itinerant artist, placing his talent at the services of the master potters of the two centres, and not an established manufacturer, like Hans Higler of Siegburg, to whom the monogram is sometimes attributed. D. P. R., combined with a pair of compasses, are considered by Vicaire Schmitz as the mark of *Dores, Pietz, Raeren*, a master potter who worked about 1591, the date inscribed on the medallion (fig. 94).



Fig. 93. Berlin Museum.

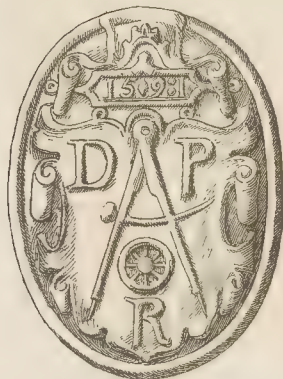


Fig. 94. Berlin Museum.

Jean Liefvrick is known to have supplied some moulds to the potters towards 1580, and he is described as a "formschnyder," a designation much more appropriate to a mould-cutter than that of "cartemaker," more generally used. A namesake of his was an established bookseller at Antwerp, and it has been thought that both Jean Liefvrick's

might be one and the same man, inasmuch as the suite of "compartments" engraved by Floris, and often reproduced on Raeren ware, had previously been published by the Flemish bookseller. We prefer however to see in them two distinct personalities. The trade of a mould-cutter required quite a special training; the moulds had to be sunk, like dies or matrices, and even an engraver on metal or wood, as the latter may have been, could not easily have undertaken them. The title of "formschnyder," given to the former in old documents, precludes the idea that he merely sent drawings or sketches which were cut afterwards by other hands.

This however was the case with *Jerome Cock*, engraver and designer, also of Antwerp, who is said to have occasionally supplied models for the ornamentation of the Raeren stoneware; his name however is not found impressed on any specimens, and he can not have done more than send sketches to be copied by the practical modellers.

A great many potters' marks still await identification; of the following ones, interesting on account of their probable reference to members of the craft, very little can be said.



Fig. 95. Berlin Museum.



Fig. 96. Brussels Museum.



Fig. 97. Brussels Museum.

G. B. (fig. 95) is found on vases adorned with seven large medallions in the style of Baldern Mennicken (fig. 85), also upon an annular jug of the Felix collection, with the date 1602. This and the following mark are united on the small medallion given on fig. 84.

W. E. and W. A. D. P., with the potters' arms and other initials, may be the sign of the Willems family (figs. 96, 97).

I. E., Jan Emens, is found either as his mark in his capacity of pot-maker, as seen on the works of his factory reproduced in this book, or as his signature as modeller upon medallions carved by him for the trade, such as fig. 98, where his initials stand on



Fig. 98. Berlin Museum.



Fig. 100. Cluny Museum.



Fig. 99.



Fig. 101.

each side of an arm holding a jug by the handle, over the motto "Putgen ute" (?), which perhaps constitutes the trade-mark of some brewer, or the sign of some inn which had its drinking-pots made at Raeren.

H. L., with the 4, on a large vase of the Musée d'Antiquities, Brussels (fig. 99), is a mark with reference to which we cannot hazard any supposition.

A. R., with the 4, on a curious medallion, round which we read: "In this ring will I stick my lance, should I break it in the attempt." (Fig. 100.)

A. H. P., on a jug with the twelve Apostles.

E. F., with the 4, on a vase bearing the arms of Claude Hannot, Drossart of Walhorn, 1623—1634.

P. E., over a cartel containing a badge formed with the 4 piercing through a heart, and terminated with an L. Round the medallion is inscribed "Espoir me confort jusque a la morte 1607," a motto already assumed by the master W. E. in 1594; also in connection with the 4. (Fig. 101.)

L. W., mark of one of the cleverest "formschneiders" who worked at Siegburg as well as at Raeren. He never signed in full, and no name on the potters' registers corresponds with these initials.

G. K., with a triangle, appears on a globular jug, decorated with a diaper of rosettes,—formerly in the Minard collection. It might be attributed to one of the Krans. The above by no means exhausts the list of marks and initials impressed on the brown ware, but we think it unnecessary to record the odd letters not open to any other explanation than that they stood for the name of the person to whom the piece had been presented.

MERCHANTS.

BEFORE relinquishing the subject, we have yet to deal with another kind of marks—those of the merchants. Wholesale dealers, in order to keep the sale of stoneware in their countries or provinces in their own hands, entered into a contract with the council, by which they promised to take a certain number of ovenfuls every year, and exacted in return that all goods made for them should be stamped with their name, so that they might be retailed as articles of their own manufacture. We must not wonder, therefore, at seeing upon a fine specimen the name of a celebrated dealer of the times spreading itself in large letters over the most conspicuous part, while that of the maker is dissimulated under obscure initials hidden in some corner of the decoration. It has always been a rule of the trade—and we believe the custom even now is not obsolete—that the merchant or store-keeper should monopolize an article much in demand by the retailers, and moreover should endeavour to conceal as much as possible the sources from which he derived his supply, in order to impede the direct communication of the consumer with the producer. To give oneself as the real maker was one of the common stratagems employed, and we see this subterfuge resorted to on the stoneware.

Upon three-handled vases of the best class, and also upon important pieces of other shapes, is sometimes found a shield bearing a chevron cantoned with three grapes, two in chief and one in point, and having as a crest two racquets with vine branches. These are the "armes parlantes" of a certain *Robert Thievin*. (Fig. 102.) His name—so that none should ignore it—is inscribed round the medallion, and to it has been added the qualification of "cartemaker." He was a tradesman of some standing, first at Antwerp and next at Liège, where he settled definitely in business. From his coat of arms and his surname, evidently a contraction of "tient vin," or "keep wine," we may reasonably conclude what had been the condition of his family, if not actually his own. At all events, if he still sold wine and



Fig. 102. Brussels Museum.

kept a tennis court, he may also have added to his business the sale of stoneware jugs and vases, just then at the best moment of their success. By means of the mark he caused to be impressed on the ware he sold he obtained a certain monopoly; soon all Flanders was made acquainted with the name of Robert Thievin of Antwerp or Liège, and customers came to him from all parts to obtain the fine vases bearing his mark. We shall not deny him the honour of having supplied the potter with a sketch of his "coat of arms" executed on his order, and this perhaps in his eyes was sufficient to warrant his taking the title of "cartemaker." But if we recollect that his name does not appear upon any other model than the shield with the vine branches, and that this shield is used always in connection with subjects

carved by well-known artists, such as Jan Allers, or with potters' marks like that of the master of the M. M. M., etc., we imagine that we can see through the dealer's transparent artifice; the practice need not astonish us, inasmuch as it has been by far distanced by the Robert Thievins of our days.

A few years ago, in the house inhabited by him at Liège in 1590, a stained glass window was discovered bearing his arms, together with an inscription styling him Robert Thievins, "Maitre de Céans," "master of this house." This alone denotes a social standing much above that of an ordinary "cartemaker."

More straightforward was his fellow-townsmen and gossip *Quellem Pardicque*, who, if he also caused his goods to be stamped with his name, did not arrogate to himself any other quality than that of merchant and burgess of Liège. He styled himself in other documents "Purveyor to the Bishop Prince Ernest of Baviera." All

the best class articles sold at both stores came from Raeren, but for common pots the shrewd dealers preferred to patronize the neighbouring manufactories of Bouffieux, where good imitations were manufactured at a much lower rate. They did not, of course, take the public into their confidence, and such private commissions as were given upon a nice sample of Raeren ware, were, for the sake of increasing the profit, entrusted for execution to the makers of Bouffieux. The excavations in the latter place have afforded us abundant evidence of these transactions; we find there many medallions reproducing those originating from a more artistic centre, and particularly those of Robert Thievin and Quellem Pardicque. The customer cared but little to know whence the ware came; it was convenient for him to choose a pattern out of a town dealer's stock, and there, without further trouble, order special vessels to be stamped with his name or his cognizances. Had he been obliged, in order to obtain them, first to discover the obscure place where they were manufactured, and next to enter into direct communication with the makers, the probabilities are that we should never have seen such a large number of vases bearing emblems and coats of arms. If the noble families belonging to the province of Liège are so profusely represented on the brown stoneware, it is undoubtedly owing to the presence of these two shops in the chief town.

While Robert Thievin stamped the goods which made the object of his trade with his truly heraldic device, his compeer satisfied himself with an ornamented medallion having but little pretension to look like a coat of arms, and round which were written the business-like inscriptions:



Fig. 103. Mettlach Museum.

A. QUEL. PARDISC. MARCHANT DE POT DE VOIRE DE LIEGE. PARDISC FILS DE STEIN. 1603. And also: QUELLEM PARDICQUE MARCHANT BORGOR A LIEGE. (Fig. 103.)

A few years afterwards Pardicque left the town to establish himself at Aix-la-Chapelle, the nearest city to Raeren, where the trade was centralized, and where he may have prosecuted on a larger scale the exportation of brown ware.

If we insist upon the part played by the dealer in the development of the industry, it is because it has been hitherto completely overlooked; yet it is not

without interest to trace its influence; and, moreover, there is much in the story of stoneware which would remain inexplicable but for the interference of the merchant.

During the most brilliant period of stoneware manufacture at Raeren and at Siegburg the merchant, owing to his widespread connection, stood as the pivot on which the industry revolved. For the selection of subjects and coats of arms which were to be impressed on the ware in the course of the following year, the potter waited for the advice of the man of business.

Often the latter brought over his own sketches, according to his own requirements, and they were executed under his direction. Although he willingly bought a model newly created by some local artist, he insisted above all upon being supplied with subjects for which he anticipated a ready sale in the town or country in which he was established.

The names of the London merchants, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, are well known to all who are conversant with the history of English pottery. No book on the subject forgets to mention Garnet Tynes, of Aix-la-Chapelle, who imported the brown jugs stamped with the Royal arms of England, and the two partners, Thomas Rous and Abraham Cullen, who, in 1626, applied for the privilege of manufacturing in London the ware they had hitherto received from abroad. Another tradesman has left us the record of his name impressed on some brown beer jugs, on which we read:

W. BARRET—HANDYARD—IN HOLBURN—LONDON 1668.

The manufacture of no other pottery has ever been regulated to such an extent by the demands of the foreign markets. If we except the Chinese porcelain, on which many European monograms and coats of arms were executed through the agency of the East India Company, the vases of Flemish and German stoneware are the only ceramic productions on which we find the arms of all countries,—England, France, Spain, Germany, Sweden, Poland, Hungary, Denmark, etc.,—regularly produced for the trade; not to speak of the names and heraldic cognizances of many noble families belonging to those distant lands who ordered their vessels in Flanders and Germany through the medium of the dealers.

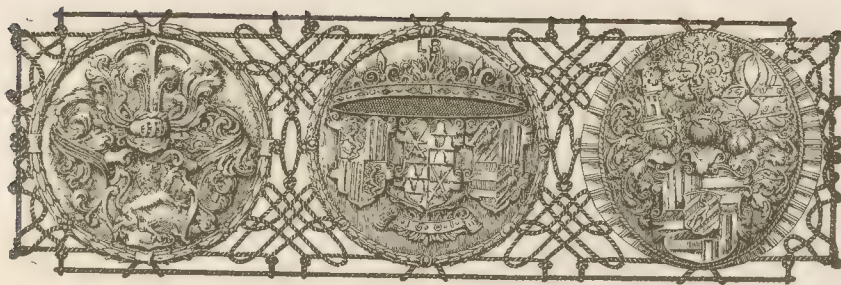


Fig. 104. ARMORED MEDALLIONS FROM RAEREN WARE.

§ II. THE WARE.

A GREAT amount of complementary information may be derived from the ware itself. Proceeding as we have done in the preceding chapter, we shall now pass the most characteristic types under review. The field is a vast one; specimens of beauty and of historical interest awake our curiosity at every step, many of which, much to our regret, will have to be passed over, in order that we may devote sufficient attention to a few selected examples remarkable for their exceptional merit or as illustrating a peculiar style; either giving rise to a fresh question or settling a doubtful point.

The earliest period, respecting which we have already had occasion to say a few words, began late and did not last long; its productions consist principally of small vessels, already of good stoneware, but of very rude and uncouth workmanship. In shape they have little to distinguish them from the common pottery made at the time in Flanders, Germany, and Holland. Setting aside the early jugs embossed with primitive images of kings or noble ladies,—sketches of which have been given in figs. 76, 77, and which offer undeniable instances of particularity,—we find the following types:—the straight-necked jug, with the spreading foot impressed by the thumb of the maker, just as it is found at Siegburg; the bottle, wreathed over with a tree-branch garnished with leaves and rosettes, which were for a long time the staple decoration of the Frechen ware; and lastly, the three-handled cups with the human features roughly incised in the clay, such as they are found at Bouffieux, and indeed almost everywhere. But these will not detain us long, inasmuch as they soon disappear to make room for a range of original forms created by the men of the soil, and which, persevered in to the last, constitute the happiest representatives of the peculiar style of the Flemish potter.

We must remember that before 1619, during the most prosperous times, the craft was a free one ; no Guild regulations interfered to hamper private initiative, and a potter was at liberty to bring out any fanciful form he might imagine without waiting for the sanction of the council ; therefore a great variety distinguishes the vases of brown stoneware.

We do not mean to say that every article manufactured at Raeren was stamped with the same mark of originality ; alive to the necessity of keeping up an unrelenting competition with their contemporaries, every shape of pot, successful in other places, was also produced, but seldom, if ever, identical in detail. The public had adopted a few standard patterns, and, before any novelty was to be thought of, people had to be supplied with their favourite drinking vessels. Consequently the cylindrical schnelle and the flattened harvest bottle of Siegburg were made by the side of the jug with the bearded face, or Bartman of Frechen ; finally, when the blue and purple stoneware of Grenzhausen came into fashion, Raeren began immediately the manufacture of similar articles heightened with the two colours.

But foreign types were of but accidental production. It is only fair to state that the handsomest vases which can be laid to the credit of the Flemish potter are precisely those the form of which belong to him alone. Amongst those, first rank must be given to the large vases, ewers, or jugs—as one may please to name them—composed of a vertical cerce placed between two demi-spheres, forming the egg of the vase ; the inferior half resting on a somewhat broad foot, while the upper part is surmounted by a narrow neck, cylindrical in shape like the cerce. On the central band, as on that of the neck, are stuck complicated friezes of figures and ornaments pressed in sharp moulds. The architectural profiles are turned on the wheel ; shoulder and base are generally impressed with lines and patterns, produced by the application of small seals or dies. The design of that shape results directly from certain ways and conveniences in the fashioning of all vessels with narrow apertures, adopted from the first by the potters. The ancient operatives evidently did not like to face the difficulty of diminishing towards the top the diameter of a piece, or, as it is termed, to close it on the wheel ; therefore, when they had to turn a globular jug, it was made by means of two half-spheres stuck together in the middle ; of this the oldest specimens give us innumerable proofs. In the days when the turner had attained to the highest proficiency this method was not completely discarded, and “closed” pieces were still made in three parts, namely, the neck, the cerce, and the base united together, and forming thus a much larger object than it would have been convenient to turn in a single piece. On this peculiar shape the whole history of Raeren manufacture is illustrated, for it was made almost at all times and in all styles, and all the best masters have produced and signed it. All the finest models, all the richest friezes with

personages, were destined to embellish the cylindrical cerces, which alone showed them to advantage; whether it was the noble vase of which a unique copy only was ever to be perfected, as, for instance, the masterpiece of Jan Emens, the jug with the Centaurs and the Lapithes (see Plate XI.), or whether it was the most popular picture ever produced at a small cost for the general public,—the ever-successful subject of the "Peasants' Dance." In our random examination of the ware, we could not do better than take this shape and the subjects represented upon it as our next station; we shall first describe those decorated with the frieze just named,—the "Peasants' Dance." (Fig. 105.)

They are of all sizes and qualities; the scene is embossed in large or small figures of good or indifferent character, either signed by a master, or clumsily carved by the commonest hand. Copied in the first instance from a print engraved by Hans Sebald Beham, of Nuremberg, by dint of being reproduced from one mould-cutter by another it soon lost all likeness to the original. More than thirty models, variations of the same type, have already been counted. The masters who signed L. W., I. M., G. E., I. E., H. H., etc., have all given us their own interpretations. Not only did they take liberties with the design, but, with the desire of rendering their work more realistic, they did away altogether with the original meaning attached to the composition. In its earlier form it is meant as a burlesque personification of the course of the year; twelve



Fig. 105. Ceramic Museum, National Factory, Sèvres.
Height, 22 in.

figures, in the costumes of the period, and representing the twelve months of which they bore the names, are depicted dancing vigorously to the strains of the music discoursed by the sun and the moon. This allegory was rather too recondite to please both makers and buyers of drinking pots, and, as a matter of course, the picture was soon transformed into one of real life by the addition of humorous inscriptions. It became a village dance, and all the performers, dubbed with local names, were supposed to have been taken from amongst the friends and neighbours of the potter. Some of the inscriptions begin with an injunction to the musician, addressed by the name of the accredited piper of the village :

GERET DU MUSS DAPER BLASEN.
 "Gerald, thou must blow mightily."

On others we get the list of the dancers with their recognized nicknames. They are: JAN RONT H(oo)T. "John of the round hat." CLAES SAIGH SIN. "Nicholas the good-tempered." X.(?) LIPPEN LOER. "The loose lips," or always ready for a glass, etc. Their fair partners are designated by their proper names: ANN ELIZABETH FAES, PHILIPPINA WUIT, etc., selected probably amongst the most popular frequenters of the village green.

Through the sentences engraved above their heads by the mould-cutter we are made acquainted with the feelings and sayings of all these good people. The "curé," who had his place marked in all festivities, is not the least excited in the sport, and is made to say:

FRY . VF . SPRICHT . BASTOR . ICH . VERDANS . DY . KAP . MIT . DEN . KOR.
 "Faith! says the pastor, I will dance away my cap and my cassock."

The labourer, coming last in the train in his working clothes, and carrying his flail on his shoulder, shouts out the threat:

WER . SIN . KOEPT . WILT . HALDEN . GANSZ . DER LAS DEN HUNDEN ER .
 BR(VE)FT . ENDE DEN BUREN EREN DANSZ. G. E. 1590.

"He who will keep his head whole, must leave to the dog its sport, and to the peasant his dances."

At other times the inscriptions have a more general turn, such as:

VER . MOSEN BLASEN DEI BUREN DANSSSEN ENDE SPRENGEN UF . WERREN SEI
 RASSEN.

"We must blow away!" it is the musician who speaks, "the peasants dance and jump as if they were mad."

DIS MONAT . SEIN . GETHAM . WOLAVF . GRED . WIR . FANGENS . WIDERUM.

"The months are at an end. Let us go, Gerald, we must begin again."

Others verge somewhat on rudeness, these we shall omit to transcribe. Thoroughly Flemish in their spirit, they anticipate the "Kermess" painted by Rubens, Teniers, and most of the masters of the Flemish school. Notwithstanding the imitations afterwards made elsewhere, they remain quite peculiar to Raeren; yet there is little probability of their having ever been manufactured, as it is often said, for the use of the peasants themselves, any more than the pictures just alluded to were intended to adorn the walls of the beerhouses where Brawer or Van Ostade were wont to find their models. The costly workmanship of some examples put them out of the reach of simple country folks. Few of these handsome jugs remained in the district; the majority were sent to the large towns, where the wealthy citizen shewed a marked preference for representations of the vulgar merrymakings of rural life.

So great was the demand for jugs with "Peasant Dances," that the Raeren friezes were soon imitated at Siegburg, where, amongst the religious and formal subjects of the German potter, they look very much out of place. On the brown ware the dances appear frequently as early as 1575; on the white pieces the dates inscribed on the same friezes do not go farther back than 1589; there is therefore no doubt as to which factory had the priority in producing them. In both places the moulds are signed with the same monograms, L. W. and H. H.; the same artists having here, as in many other instances, repeated the same subject for different masters.

We do not know whether these somewhat fastidious repetitions resulted from a continual state of keen and unfair competition being kept up between rival factories, or whether, on the contrary, models were, like the ovens, considered as public property. Be that as it may, it does not appear that the council, whose charge it was to watch over the interests of the members of the craft, ever interfered with any potter reproducing almost exactly a model introduced by his neighbour. The only condition a master was bound to comply with was to have a mould, differing in size from the original, executed expressly for his private use. Therefore no objection could have been raised against a "cartemaker" for repeating as many replicas of a given subject as might be asked from him by the potters who wanted to produce it, on condition that each replica was of a different size.

A curious transformation of the dances is the rare jug—one copy of which is in the Hetjens collection—on which the dancing couples are all monks and nuns in their conventual habits;—another addition to make to the number of satirical pieces directed against the clergy.

When trade was all but extinct at Raeren, and the Grenzhäusen ware took the lead, the vogue for friezes of dancing figures was not exhausted; and in the land of Wied they were also commonly manufactured. But there it was not always the uncouth clodhopper and rustic wench who formed the bouncing groups; they were replaced by smart ladies and gentlemen dressed in rich costumes, jumping and capering like the merry peasants, and not a whit less frolicsome in their deportment.

The Raeren vase we have selected for reproduction (fig. 105), although very elaborate, is not perhaps one of the best examples of Baldern Mennicken's work, whose name and motto, "In Leiden Gedolt," it bears. It is so overloaded with details that it may, perhaps, be taken as one of the made-up pieces manufactured either by his sons or his brother with the moulds left by the old potter. The frieze of the dance is signed L. W., and dated 1578.

The design of Sebald Beham is most accurately reproduced by a professional modeller, and not by one of the cartemakers, upon a very curious canette, or pint, of black clay in the possession of Mr. A. W. Franks. After having said that it is of German manufacture, it would be difficult to add any information that would fix the exact time and place of its production. What strikes us chiefly in this puzzling specimen of a ware so far unnoticed by any writer, is its close resemblance to the black basalt of Josiah Wedgwood, and the similarity of treatment observed in both cases. It is the same way of sticking the figures one by one on the ground of the piece, and of completing the decoration, top and bottom, by the same engine-turned pattern. To the English collector it may be interesting to recall the fact that the first examples of black ware, decorated with applied reliefs, were made in England by the brothers Elers, who, no doubt, brought this method, with many others, from their own country. Through their intervention we might, therefore, connect in a curious way the black basalt of the great English potter with the stoneware of Germany. The piece is very highly finished, and very hard in substance: it bears the monogram H. D., so far unidentified. We know only one other example of the same black stoneware. It is also a canette, in the National Museum at Munich. The figures embossed upon it, also well modelled and sharply pressed, are this time a standard-bearer, in the costume of Albrecht Dürer's *Lanceknechts*, to whom a girl presents a full tankard. Upon an applied shield we find the two letters G. S. twice repeated, and a pair of shears; initials and emblem referring probably to the name and trade of the party who had been presented with the piece.

But we must return to the vases with cylindrical cerces, adorned with pictures of common life; the drinking scenes, like the dances, must naturally be included in that



Fig. 106. FROM A GREY AND BLUE JUG. Berlin Museum.

class. A convivial gathering at the village inn is depicted on the vase, fig. 107; on each side of a long table the drinkers are seated, as if intending to make a night of it, but their wives, determined to wait for them no longer, come in a body to fetch the belated husbands home by force. Signed I. E. Another frieze shows us the wives chastising the drunkards (fig. 106), with the sentence:

SOE GOET DES DY FOL SUPERS ES MOS SEIN. I. M.

"So goes the punishment of the drunkard; it is only right that it should be so."

Upon another vase, inscribed "DIE BUREN HOCHZEIT," we have the representation of the peasant's marriage feast.

A very curious frieze by Jan Emens (figs. 81, 82) unrolls to our gaze consecutive pictures illustrating the chief features of the peasants' festivities. The sketch will render our giving a detailed description of the various scenes of which it is composed unnecessary. Their realistic treatment may have caused many copies of the piece (now extremely rare) to be destroyed by chance possessors less inclined than were our worthy grandsires to accept good-humouredly such patent infractions of propriety and seemliness. Let it be said at once, to the credit of our potters, that subjects of a coarse or licentious character are rare exceptions to the rule which makes of a stoneware jug a speaking exponent of morals and philosophy by the maxims inscribed upon it; a propagator of religious and classical history through the images with which it is decorated.

Many are the philosophical sentences to be found engraved on the Raeren drinking pots, and the teaching they convey takes the most serious turn. Thus, round a medallion having a death's head in the centre, we read:

Fig. 107. Brussels Museum.
Height, 11 in.

OCH . LEIBER . LESSER . BESEICH . MICH . (WA)T . DOV . NOV . BIS . DAT . BEN . YCH
GEWEST . (WA)T . YCH . NOV . BEN . DAT . MOST . DOV . WER.

"Look at me, dear reader; what thou art, so have I been; what I am, so wilt thou be."

Sometimes they take the form of an advice to a young man:

YUNGER . GESEL . HAT . DICH . WERN . VERFUL . NIT . DEINEN . DRIM . BIST . DEN .
FRUWEN . NIST . SU . HULT . SO . STET . DU . WOL.

"Young fellow, stand fast, do not give way to thy passions; do not be so friendly with the women, it will be much better for thee."



Fig. 108. South Kensington Museum.
Height, 16 in.

The above is found on vases the centre of which is occupied by a medallion containing the pelican, emblem of charity (fig. 108). Two replicas of the same model are preserved in the South Kensington Museum, one in brown clay, the other in grey, lightened with blue; both of them are dated 1599, and bear the initials of the maker, H. K.; the decoration is completed with the coats of arms of Spain and of Burgundy.

It is hardly possible to enumerate the scriptural subjects embossed on vases of the same shape; there is, however, between Raeren and Siegburg, a well-marked difference in the spirit of their treatment, and especially in their selection. We notice, for instance, that the favourite subject on Flemish ware is one which never appears on the white German vases; it is the "History of Susanna and the two Elders."

It is well known that all Flemish artists of the Renaissance were singularly fond of rendering, each in his own way, that biblical episode. They painted it on stained glass windows; embroidered and weaved it on cloth and in tapestry; they carved it in metal and wood: one of the finest works of stone carving of the period, the chimney of the "Franc" at Bruges, is decorated with that subject in bass-relief.

In the Susanna jugs we have undeniable "Grès de Flandres" in the most complete acception of the term; made on Flemish soil, their artistic decoration is thoroughly pervaded by Flemish spirit; and if we wanted a proof that their makers

intended them for the use of their countrymen, we should find it in the inscriptions, written in the Flemish language :

DIT IS DEI SHONE HEISTORIA VAN SUISSANNA INT KORTE EIT GESNEIDEN.

The inscription, which varies slightly according to the models, is followed by the name or initials of the maker, with dates ranging from 1576 to 1637 ; the success with which the subject continued to be received having induced all the leading potters to bring out their own version of it.

Even among German collectors, at the moment when the infatuation following upon the archæological discoveries concerning the origin of stoneware went so far as to make them deny the existence of any important factories besides those situated along the Rhine, the "Suzannakrüge," and vases of the same shape, had still kept their significant name of "Flandrische steinzeug."

Our etching is taken from a good average specimen of these vases. The story is related in six or eight compartments, according to the size of the piece, each of them comprising several figures ; they are carved with the brilliant and bold treatment of a Renaissance bronze, which has little in it that recalls the usually more formal workmanship of the stoneware "formschneider." If the name of Engel Kran is inscribed on the frieze, we have already stated our reasons for believing he was probably the potter and not the artist ; the mark of Jan Emens, with his initials, appear on a small shield placed on the neck, accompanied with an inscription borrowed from another model, called the "Pfennig" jug :

LYFDEN . GEIT . BOV . EN . ALE . DENCK . NIEN . SPRICKT . DIC . PENNINCK . ICH .
BEN . SOE . LYF . EN . SOE . (WE)RT . DAT . IDER . GEB.

"Love goes before everything ; no, says the penny, I am so precious and so dear that I am preferred by all."

This mark cannot be taken as conclusive evidence that Jan Emens is the author of the subject placed underneath ; but on two replicas of the "History of Susanna" we have his name duly signed : once J. E. M., 1583, that is to say, one year earlier than the Engel Kran frieze ; and on a larger model, JAN EMENS (in full), 1585 ; this latter being by far superior to any other in design and sharpness of execution, and also the most difficult to meet with.

Let us note, by the way, that it is upon one of the Engel Kran vases that Demmin thought he could read the date 1444. Having never taken the trouble to verify the correctness of this curious reading, he has more than once in his book mentioned the

brown stoneware vase with the "History of Susanna" as affording, by its early date, a convincing proof of the priority of German art pottery to all other.

A rare frieze of exceptional beauty represents King Solomon with his train of courtiers and soldiers on their journey to meet the Queen of Sheba; a work of grand style, but without mark or inscription. For a long time it was thought to be unique;

other copies have since been found, and the subject in reduced proportions is seen on some jugs in connection with other scenes, namely, on the vase with the Centaurs and the Lapiths of Jan Emens, which will be described later. (Plate XI.) Always on this same shape we find, signed by Jan Emens, the five following subjects in separate compartments: Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Lot and his daughters, Noah building the Ark, and Abraham and Isaac, dated 1583. Also with the same mark, and dated 1587, the History of Joseph.

Six pictures representing the parable of the Prodigal Son, without date or mark, but supposed to be by the master H. H., who worked principally at Siegburg (fig. 109). The History of John the Baptist, dated 1580, is also attributed to the same master; the division between each compartment, formed by trees instead of arcatures, is one of the peculiarities of his style.

We shall lastly mention, to bring to a close our list of religious subjects, those taken from the New Testament. They also

are very numerous, and we shall quote at random: The Childhood of Christ, in six pictures,—The Miracles,—The Last Supper,—The Crucifixion,—The Apostles,—The Evangelists,—The Works of Mercy, etc.

Passing now to the mythological subjects and allegories, we notice that the Raeren potter has also freely indulged in the representation of pagan gods and goddesses for the adornment of his cylindrical cerces. Copied with great freedom, as a rule, from the engravings of the German small masters, they are treated with quite a special care, and



Fig. 109. South Kensington Museum.



Fig. 110 A. FROM A GREY AND BLUE JUG. Ritter von Lanna Coll.

count amongst the best productions. They are from the hands of the same masters as the religious and other scenes, and are generally accompanied by Latin inscriptions, most often difficult of interpretation; an observation which applies, let it be said, to all inscriptions on stoneware, whether they be written in Flemish, German, or any other language. The reason is probably that the "formschneider" was more ready with his chisel than his pen; and when he had to engrave backwards in his mould an inscription unintelligible to him, he was liable to commit many errors and strangely alter the text.

Jan Emens has again signed the frieze given on fig. 110. The procession is marshalled somewhat in the fashion of the pageants of the times; it is composed of two triumphal cars, drawn by horses and oxen, and attended by several Olympian divinities—Mercury, Mars and Venus, Saturn, etc. The figure which closes the march is a personage in Renaissance costume, said to be the portrait of the artist himself. Another procession, this time signed with the initials H. H., has another set of deities, with Bacchus and Silenus as a central group.

To the same category belong also the vases with the nine Muses, each standing under an architectural portico, and those with the seven planets, and the four elements.



Fig. 110 B.

As a rule, mythological subjects are treated as separate medallions, framed in Renaissance borders redundant with ribbands and garlands, cut out and convoluted with the exuberant profusion of detail so dear to the decorative artist of the period. The illustrated editions of Ovid's "*Metamorphoses*," and of the minor poets, supplied the models; the rough woodcuts with which they were adorned being admirably adapted to be effectively rendered by the chisel of the "*formschneider*." He succeeded in producing in imitation of them some fine reliefs, but evidently was not equal to accomplishing a correct transcription of the accompanying Latin distichs; these are so curiously mutilated as to offer in many cases hardly any sense. We shall particularly mention: Diana and Acteon,—Apollo killing the Serpent,—Daphne changed into a Laurel,—Minerva and the Muses, etc. All these have been carved in separate medallions, so that they might be introduced in all schemes of decoration. (Fig. 111.) They are most frequently found applied to the vases of tall ovoid form, either singly or in sets, in the manner illustrated by the fine ewer of Baldern Mennicken already given (fig. 84).

Amongst the mythological vases, the one etched on Plate XI. is uncontestably the finest, as well as the rarest, of all. Its shining surface is covered with a deep and metallic glaze of a rich brown tint, not unlike the patine of a Florentine bronze; the elaborate frieze of figures is of uncommon sharpness in all its details: it is clear that the moulds employed for its decoration were then used for the first time, and that every line which required more precision has been carefully touched up by hand. The simple and pure outline of the profile recalls to our memory the noble ewers of the first period; and although the vase was evidently intended as a masterpiece by its makers, it has none of the tawdry adjuncts, the over-crowding of which later on was made to pass for beauty. One might perhaps regret the superposition of a double frieze of figures when one might have been sufficient, and yet from the contrast in the workmanship between the two subjects a very good decorative effect results. Jan Emens has



Fig. 111. FROM A BROWN JUG. British Museum.

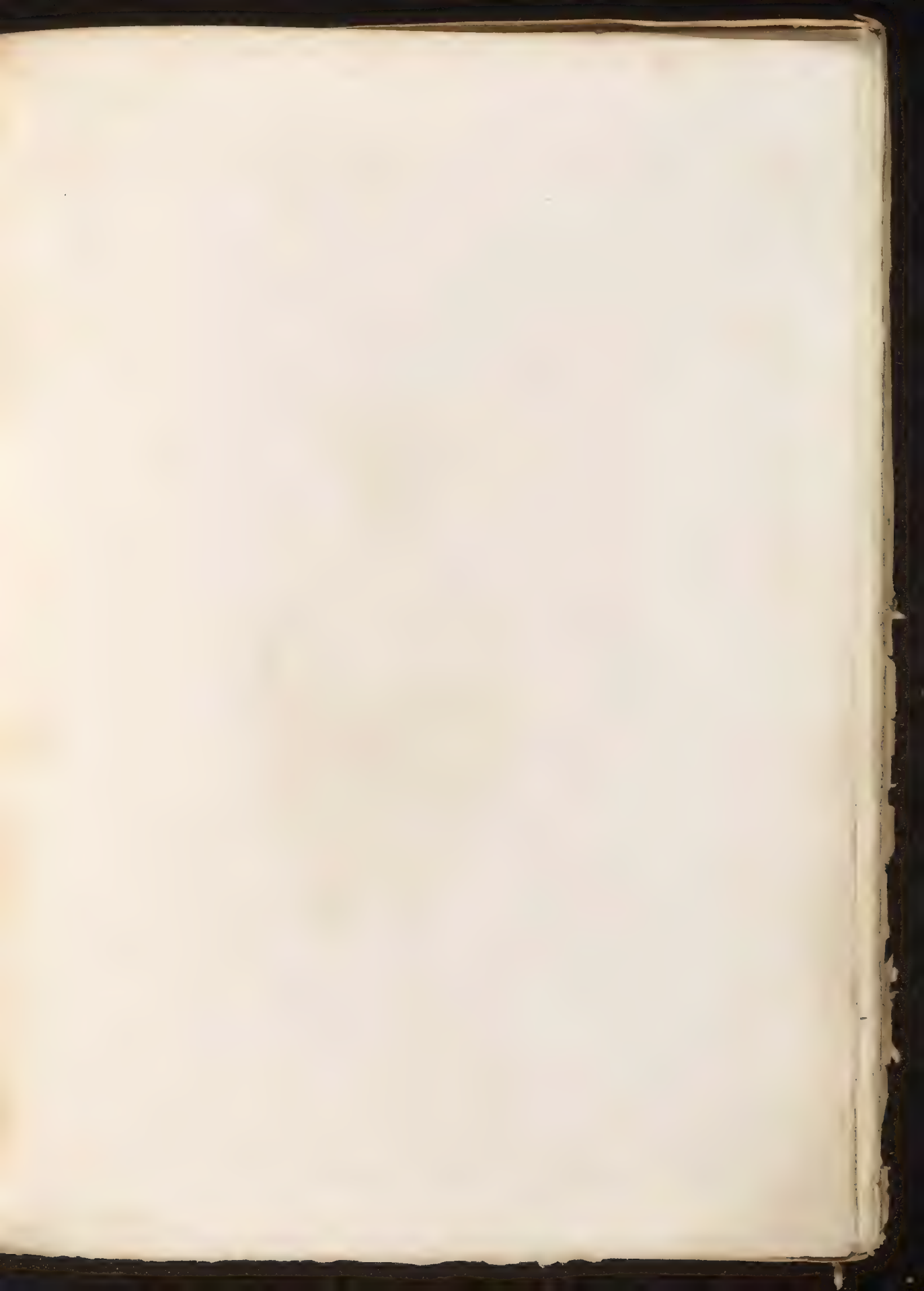
BAEREN BROWN WARE
The Terracotes & the Lapithes

PL XI



Bon Copenhagen Coll

PRINTED BY T. B. S. P. 1882



100



W R A 409 BR/2AER6 24/42/11

surpassed himself in the conception and execution of the main battle-scene which gives its name to the piece: "The Centaurs and the Lapiths at the marriage feast of Thesus and Pirithoüs." The figures, of quite unusual size, are powerfully drawn, and the whole scene is instinct with action and movement. On the upper part of the vase, so as to form an ornamental border to the largest frieze, has been placed a reduction of the also rare model of "Solomon advancing with his retinue of soldiers, in Roman costume, to meet the Queen of Sheba." The cylindrical neck is covered with the following inscription, of which we have not been able to obtain a translation:

PIRITHOVS . HEFT . GETROVT . TOT . EEN-	DAER . SYN . GEBIEVEN . DOOT . DIET .
DER . VROWE . HIPPODAYMEN . HEEPTTER .	GEVECHT (?) . DAER . YS . GEWORDEN .
SYN (?) . GENOT . DIE . SENTAVREN . WARWT .	GROOTER . THE . SEVS . MOEST . HIR . DEN .
QVAM . GROTEN . ROW . WANT . DIVERS .	DOOT . VERWACHTEN . 1576 . I . E .

It was no easy matter to pass through the oven a piece of this magnitude and obtain it free from cracks or flaws; it was often attempted several times before success was secured. In the case of this particular vase the diggings at Raeren have afforded us certain proofs that a satisfactory copy was not achieved without trouble. During the excavations directed on the spot by Mr. Hetjens, fragments of two or three imperfect replicas were turned up, and by carefully piecing them together their possessor hopes to reconstitute at least one complete piece. It is more than probable that Jan Emens, after these unfortunate mishaps, never repeated the experiment, and remained satisfied when he had succeeded in obtaining a perfect copy, all the more precious for being the only one in existence.

Such an admirable piece of workmanship must always have been highly valued and treasured by its consecutive owners, it is not therefore to be wondered at that it should have been carefully preserved for centuries and come down to us uninjured. Had any duplicate ever been made it would in all probability also have been saved from destruction, and discovered ere this.

A most popular model, repeated in numberless copies, was the frieze of the "Electors." Pl. XII. Round the vase, on the central band, are ranged seven half-length figures standing under architectural arcatures, each holding its respective escutcheon. They are the seven electors of the empire, by whom the Emperor of Germany was elected at Frankfort. As the coat of arms without metals or colours might not have been a sufficient indication of their names and titles, each personage is furthermore designated by means of initial letters inscribed over his head. Thus we have, starting from the left:

- B. Z. V. T. R. (Bischoff zu Trier), "Bishop of Trèves."
 B. Z. V. COLN. (Bischoff zu Cöln), "Bishop of Cologne."
 B. Zv. ME. (Bischoff zu Mentz), "Bishop of Mayence."
 ROM. KAL. (Romish Kaiser), "Roman Emperor."
 PA. GRA. (Paltz Graft), "Count Palatine of the Rhine."
 H. Zv. S. (Hertzog zu Sachsen), "Duke of Saxony."
 BRA. BVR. (Brandenburg Burgrave).

Every variety of ornamental accessory accompanies this frieze on the pieces where it appears as central subject; these pieces are most varied, ranging from the modest pitcher to the handsome ewer, and they are accordingly left very simple, or most elaborately treated. The presentment of the members of the mighty conclave found favour with all classes of society. When the Elector jug was handed round the table, where loyal German burghers were discussing after dinner the politics of the day, each picture furnished in turn the topics of conversation. The pot-maker could supply any one with a jug illustrated with a subject suited to his turn of mind. The believer and the moralist had each his choice of religious or emblematic designs, and we see that neither the nationalist nor the politician was forgotten. In Germany, where the jug was of course most in demand, it was never extensively manufactured; was it because the Raeren model was so much appreciated, that imitations had no chance of success? At any rate, Siegburg only produced it in a few rare examples, and we do not know that a single instance of an Elector jug made at Grenzhausen has ever been reported. It is scarcely worth mentioning the coarse mugs with portraits of the electors, painted at Creussen a century afterwards; they have nothing in common with the type we are now describing.

Without pretending to give the extreme dates of the production of the jugs in brown or grey ware decorated with the seven figures, we may, however, say that those which have come under our notice range between 1580 and 1632. As usual, they are inscribed with various marks and initials, but with the exception of the well-known monogram I. E.,—Jan Emens,—which occurs on one of the largest and best models, we cannot undertake to discover the meaning of such marks as H. W., I. H., I. K., M. O., etc.; in most cases they have reference to the owner of the piece.

Subjects recalling historical events or social institutions of the country are, unfortunately, restricted to a very limited number, and, as we have just observed, it is curious to find the Elector jug, so closely connected with Germany, remaining the speciality of the Flemish potter; on the other hand, he seems to have cared little to record on his work the important phases of his own history. There was assuredly

ample scope in the disturbed times through which he worked either to celebrate by a special model some great event,—a decisive victory, the accession of a new ruler, etc.,—or to express in a short inscription the hopes he entertained when the fate of his country seemed at last to be settled. It is disappointing to find that he has only on very rare occasions engraved in the clay a few portraits or a few words of historical import. We cannot say, however, that, like at Siegburg, allusions to the foreign rulers who succeeded each other in the Low Countries were never introduced in the decoration of a jug. Foreign kings, celebrated princes and generals, are represented on many of the choicest performances of the Raeren potter. But we are at a loss to understand how he came to place victors and vanquished side by side on the same vase, without any reason for bringing together these different personages, unless it be as a retrospective glance at bygone times, or a sad memento of all the miseries and vicissitudes which poor Flanders had undergone when bowed down beneath the oppression of her successive conquerors.

Let us, for instance, read the names inscribed on the portrait medallions brought together in an uniform series round the vase given in fig. 112. We recognize in succession the following personages :

Philip II., King of Spain.
 Henry III., King of France.
 Henry "Le Balafré," Duke of Guise.
 Charles of Lorraine, Duke of Mayence.
 Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.
 Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden.



Fig. 112. GREY AND BLUE WARE. Frohne Coll.
 Height, 10½ in.

They are marked with the initials of Jan Emens, and of this curious assemblage many replicas are known. A most remarkable copy, in the "Musée Sauvageot," bears on the flat part of the handle the incised letters M. V., probably those of the workman

who executed the work. The same series is found again on an admirable vase preserved in the Trèves Museum.



Fig. 113. Trèves Museum. Height, 18½ in.

The title of "King of Vases" has become a by-word amongst collectors to designate a large fountain, formerly in the Huyvetter collection, and now in the South Kensington Museum. But if this ambitious title of "King of Vases" had to be bestowed upon a work in stoneware which surpasses all others by its important dimensions, the striking originality of its design, and the neatness and finish of its ornamental reliefs, none could lay a better claim to that designation than the fountain of Trèves, fig. 113.

This vase, made of the finest clay, is of a delicate grey colour, soberly stained with blue enamel of light azure tint. With the exception of the portraits, which were not executed purposely for this piece,—since we have already seen them do duty upon another historical jug by the same maker,—none of the applied details are open to the reproach of having been employed on previous occasions. The critic who finds fault with the too frequent repetition on stoneware jugs of a certain number of models, could not tax the elegant caryatides, and the engarlanded pillars supporting the curiously castellated entablement, with being hackneyed and uninteresting devices.

Having carved these moulds expressly for the purpose of embellishing his masterpiece, Jan Emens, who has signed it in several places, took great care that they should not serve afterwards to adorn any inferior work, and they were probably destroyed after he had made use of them.

Upon an armorial medallion placed under the central arcature, and which denotes a particular destination, is inscribed the date 1591. As we do not know of any

production of Jan Emens signed and dated after the year 1592, this piece may be said to mark the end of the artist's career; he was then, at any rate, in the plenitude of his talent, and he has evidently brought all the resources of his long experience to bear on this fountain,—a model of workmanship which was then without equal, and was not to be surpassed.

In one respect it is not quite satisfactory. In the course of firing the vase has undergone an unseemly distortion which hinders us from fully appreciating the well-calculated harmony of its proportions. Such were the difficulties the stoneware potter had to contend with in making pieces of this size, that the master dare not try this one over again; so remote were the chances of obtaining a faultless copy, that this imperfect attempt remained the solitary production of a magnificent model.

While expressing a regret that inscriptions relating to contemporaneous events should so seldom be seen on the ware, we have added that they were not however altogether missing. An interesting jug was manufactured at the time when Maurice of Nassau was fighting to obtain the sovereignty of the Low Countries, with the view of gaining more partisans to his cause. It bears a sentence which could not fail to have appealed powerfully to those populations oppressed by foreigners:

DEN . D PRENSSEN . VAN . ORRANIEN . WASER . VAN . DVTSSEN . BLVOT.—1596.

"The princes of Orange are of German blood."

We cannot construe the presence on the same canette of the escutcheons of all the other belligerent powers—Sweden, France, and Spain—otherwise than as a reminder that none of these powers had a right to reign over the country when they could find a German ruler in Maurice Duke of Nassau.

In a globular jug of the Oppenheim collection we welcome a truly historical specimen. Upon it are represented the Archduke Albert of Austria, then governor of Brabant in which province Raeren was, as we know, included, and his wife Isabella of Spain, with the date 1602.

Maurice of Nassau is again glorified on another jug with cylindrical cerce, on which the single word PAX is inscribed in the centre of a frieze composed of the portraits and coats of arms of warlike celebrities. The word refers to the truce concluded in 1609 between the two antagonists Maurice of Nassau and the Marquis of Spinola, who are both there represented. As usual, the figures of the most important personages are accompanied by those of the Kings of France, Spain, Denmark, and that of the Roman Emperor; but if the vase was really designed in commemoration of the long-expected peace, we are at a loss to understand what share these monarchs were supposed



Fig. 114. FROM A GREY AND BLUE JUG. South Kensington Museum.

Fig. 115. BROWN WARE.
Frohne Coll. Height, 11 in.

to have taken in bringing about the cessation of hostilities, or on what other grounds they could have been introduced in the composition.

The vases on which the Spanish occupation is humorously called to our mind through a series of grotesque soldiers, may perhaps come also under the head of historical pieces. Captains in sumptuous Spanish attire, and in bombastic attitudes, evident caricatures of the hated foreigner, are represented under richly ornamented arcades. To each of the figures is affixed a nickname borrowed from the romances and comedies of the period, where the matamore is made to play a ludicrous part. This last frieze is also signed by Jan Emens. From the style of its decoration, somewhat similar to that of the Trèves fountain, it may be classed amongst the last works of the master. (Fig. 114.)

So far our description of subjects has been confined to the friezes which illustrate the vases with vertical cerces; we shall now bring the list to a close, although it is very far from being exhausted. In concluding, we shall once more insist on this point,—a very characteristic one in the Raeren manufacture,—that however elaborate in workmanship and important of dimension, these vases were currently produced, and few of them were made as unique and exceptional works. So many replicas of the finest models are still in existence, that we may safely consider them as having been the regular productions of the best factories.

AFTER the large jug, which takes first rank amongst the brown ware vessels, the pint or beer drinking pot, which corresponds to the German schnelle, demands our attention. This shape does not assume at Raeren anything like the importance it takes at Siegburg. The pint mug or canette forms only a small percentage in the aggregate number of articles produced in the Limburg pot works. While artistic reliefs are lavished on the decoration of a jug, the drinking mug seldom shows an equal richness of treatment, and is most often made rather as an article of use than of fancy.

Exceptions may be found in the imitations of the white ware patterns, which, in richness of detail and brilliancy of execution, do not yield to the choicest examples. A tall schnelle of brown ware, preserved in Rheinstein Castle, can creditably stand comparison with any Siegburg piece of the same order. The shape is alike tall, slender, and tapering; the reliefs, representing the story of Tobias, in many compartments, are carved with great neatness, and in the same style as the German types; but this schnelle, as well as a few others seen occasionally in museums, must be regarded as an unsupported attempt to compete with rival factories, undertaken by a single master, and not at all as the standard production of the place.

The lofty proportions of the Siegburg schnelle is soon modified at Raeren into a short and almost vertical cylinder; architectural mouldings replace the hoops, originally figured at both ends; and instead of the upright bands of ornaments, with which the whole form used to be covered, a central medallion and a few insignificant items are deemed a sufficient embellishment (fig. 115). Fancy shapes become abundant; the vessel is fashioned with all the quaintness of profile that the turner can imagine to impart to the ductile clay. An elegant and original design of a drinking pot of the period is shown here in fig. 116.

Religious subjects are no longer chosen to endow the jug with picturesque interest, but emblems and armorial bearings survive as means of decoration, and assume, on the sides of the drinking mug, more importance than ever. Every one who could boast a coat of arms,—a distinction by no means limited in Germany to the nobility,—was proud to see it figuring on all objects intended for his private use. We must expect, therefore,



Fig. 116. BROWN WARE.
Brussels Museum.

to find an innumerable quantity of heraldic devices stamped on the stoneware vases. In one private collection alone a list has been drawn up of more than two hundred armored medallions, belonging to families in all ranks of life. Many of these medallions have been named by Mr. H. Schuermans, who has embodied his patient and fruitful researches in several learned papers published in the annals of the archæological societies of Belgium, and to which we refer the reader interested in heraldic science.

Guilds and other corporate bodies made it a rule to use none but drinking vessels stamped with their badge or cognizance at their state banquets. We still recognize

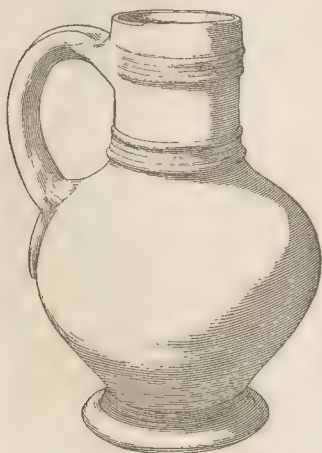


Fig. 117.

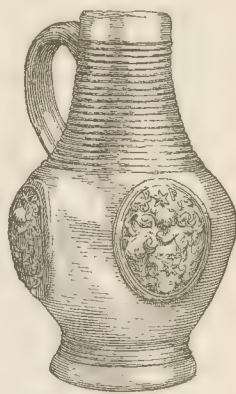


Fig. 118. Frohne Coll.

many of these earthen jugs, on which inscriptions and emblems bear evidence that they had been manufactured by order of some trade corporation.

The Raeren potters, like members of all other trades, must have provided the banqueting-room of the guild with special sets of jugs; the arms they had adopted are seen on many pieces of brown or grey and blue ware. It is a shield containing several of the tools used by the potters, and two pots placed on either side of a monogram formed of the three letters W. A. P., with the date 1601 (fig. 97). The same medallion appears surrounded with various sentences which, we must confess, have little reference to the potters or to their trade, unless they are the mottoes chosen by the master represented by the monogram, and who may have made and presented the ware to the craft-

These inscriptions, written in the Flemish dialect, are of such uncertain signification that Verhelst, for instance, in the catalogue of the Huyvetter collection, translates GHEEF . EEN . VERGELUCK . EN . DAT . HEM . TOC . DE . HOORT by "This makes us happy and all that follows," while Vicaire Schmitz gives it as meaning, "Give to every one his due."

In accordance with a long-established custom, the Fleming preferred to the narrow schnelle of Germany the broad-bellied pitcher, of all sizes from the small jug which contained a measure of beer equivalent to a pint, to the capacious vessel placed in the centre of the table when a party of friends were assembled together, and from which each guest took a draught in turn. For that reason the jug was always the standard form of the Raeren factories, and the pint jug, in particular, the staple article of regular trade.

The simple and handy shape of the Flemish drinking jug is very characteristic, and enables a Raeren jug to be recognized at first glance amongst those of other origin. Many varieties might be described, but it will suffice to give here sketches of the most often-recurring types.

The plainest shapes are also the simplest in their ornamentation. A jug of the best period, although made of the best clay and fashioned with the greatest care, was often left without any complement of artistic work. Fig. 117 belongs to that class.

When made on private order, they do not fail to exhibit the badge or coat of arms of their owner, even if the medallion is not accompanied by any other embellishment. We find an example of these armored jugs in the one shown in fig. 118, made for the family of Proist, of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Those of the highest class reproduce on a reduced scale the schemes of decoration adopted for the largest vases (fig. 119). The medallions impressed upon the front of the drinking pot are often meant to create amusement amongst the drinkers, and embody some satirical or humorous idea. On fig. 120, the Spanish Bravado, who in the



Fig. 119. Cluny Museum. Height, 11 in.

conquered land was constantly made an object of ridicule, is again represented. Round the figure of a soldier holding an empty bag are inscribed the following lines :

ICH . BEEN . EIN . HELT . ICH . HAF . DEN . BUIDEL .
GELDERLOSS . BEEN . ICH . ALTOS . ALEO . MOCTEN . SEI .
WEISSEN . AL . OLSIT . DIT . LEISSEN . 1585.

"I am a hero, I have the purse, yet I am always penniless ; so may have been all those who read this."

This jug has a companion on which a miser is depicted carrying a heavy bag on his shoulders. We give here a separate sketch of the subject ; it bears the following inscription :

DER . GITZ . BUCH . NEMMER . ZO . FRIDEN .
IS . HAT . ER . VOL . SACK . TORN . UND . KEIST .

"The miser is never satisfied, even when his sack and safe are full," (Fig. 121.)

Fig. 122 is more in the shape of a jug made to pour from than to drink out of, and was probably intended to contain wine.

The pint jug represents the commonest article of daily trade. Within this group we include the cheap bottles and pitchers made for the village inns and the customers of the lower class. Their use spread amongst all people, and there was no poor cottager who did not keep a set of stone pots on his mantel-shelf. Many collectors delight now in the possession of one of those simple and unpretentious beer-pots, which, notwithstanding the low price for which they were sold, are always of good make, hard of substance, and covered with shiny glaze.

It is needless to say that the plebeian pint jug could, at times, receive an exceptional amount of

workmanship without deviating very much from the shape usually confined to the commonest article ; the potter perfected it occasionally into a most refined piece, and we are not without a few examples of it. To be counted amongst pots of popular use, yet belonging to a higher class of goods by the singularity of their design, are the

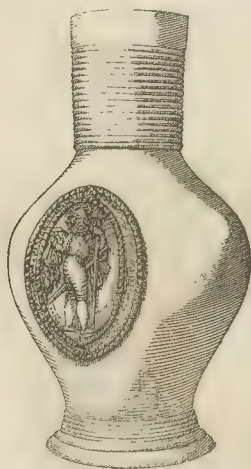


Fig. 120. Brussels Museum.



Fig. 121. Hetjens Coll.



SACRED BROWN WARE
No. 1000

Pl. XII



2nd Kensington Museum

so-called "Kaiser Jugs" (Plate XIII. and fig. 123). A curious anecdote is current about the origin of this name and the cause of their being garnished with three handles.

At the time when the Limburg forests abounded with wild deer and game of all kinds, the Emperor Charles V. was wont, it is said, to follow the sport in the neighbourhood of Raeren. When passing through the village, he would dismount before the threshold of the inn to refresh himself and exchange a few words with the landlord. This worthy, no doubt one of the leading potters of the place, improved the opportunity by setting before the eyes of his majesty some choice samples of the local handicraft, trying to interest him in its welfare and further development. Once as the daughter of the house was coming forth, holding in her trembling hand a jug of foaming beer, the august visitor pleasantly remarked how difficult it was for him to take hold of it, since its one handle was already appropriated. "This might be obviated," he observed, "if the potters would supply each pot with two opposite handles." The suggestion was readily acted upon, and on the following season, when the day of his periodical visit came round again, it was in a handsome two-handled jug that the draught of fresh beer was brought to the Kaiser; but the blushing girl, forgetting previous injunctions, held it this time with a handle in each hand! The device was obviously an incomplete one, and the case remaining as awkward as before, his majesty suggested laughingly that the number of handles should be increased to three, so that at least a spare one should remain for him to take hold of. Accordingly, and in furtherance of the imperial suggestion, the three-handled jug was contrived, and received the name of "Kaiser jug."

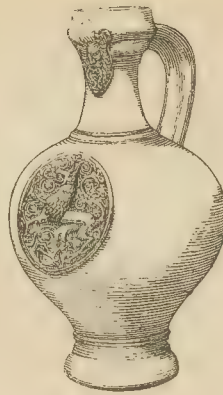


Fig. 122. Anc. Minard Coll.

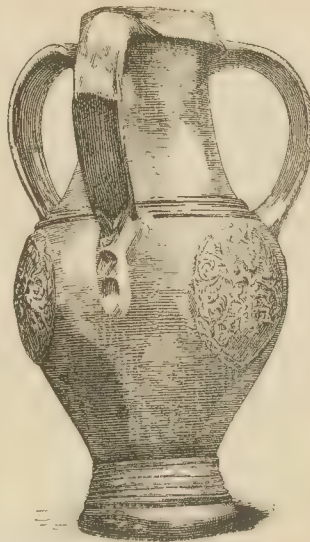


Fig. 123. Frohne Coll. Height, 11 in.

A large water pitcher, shaped on the same principle as those made at Siegburg for the use of the convent's refectory, and decorated in the same manner with religious subjects, will be found etched on Plate XIV. It is only 13 inches in height, but unusually broad, and therefore of large capacity. The long inscription impressed in the clay, by means of mobile types, does not tell us to what monastery it was presented, but records, at any rate, the name of the maker :

ANNO DOMINI 16.XXIII DEN XVIII JULY . HABE ICH DAS GESCHREIBEN . LAUDATE DOMINUM QUONIAM BONUS, QUONIAM IN SEULUM MISERICORDIA EJUS REGES DE SABA VENIUNT . AURUM, THUS, MYRRHAM OFFERUNT.—JOHANNES KANNENBECKER ME FECIT.

Circular medallions with the Nativity, thrice repeated, alternate on the body with fine arabesques imprinted with small punches, similar to those used by bookbinders. It is not rare to see water pitchers of the same proportions, but very few are so handsomely finished as the present example. They were the speciality of some master, perhaps of the Kannenbecker who formed one of the chief families of Raeren. The glaze is, as a rule, of very dark brown, and it is spotted with big patches of blackish blue. Each master followed a special method of firing the ovens. Although the same material—oxide of cobalt—was used in both cases, it produced a bright azure tint on the grey ware fired under the influence of a free current of air, whilst when the brown ware was baked in the closed ovens the want of oxygen caused the cobalt to retain a dark, blackish colour. The earliest specimens show this imperfect development of the blue, but the date of the big jug, 1623, proves that the mode of firing to which it is due was not given up, even after the light grey and blue stoneware had been brought to perfection in some factories.

IN spite of the few cases recorded above of the occasional rich ornamentation of plain shapes, it remains none the less a rule that at Raeren, as in all other manufacturing centres, high-class workmanship goes along with unusual shapes. It is chiefly upon quaintly and especially designed vases, such as the circular flattened bottles, the fanciful ewers, the annular jugs, in short upon the rarest contrivances in the way of form, that the potter preferred to display to the utmost degree his artistic and professional capabilities.

What we have said about the elegant travelling or harvest bottles of white ware, to be noticed at Siegburg as being most often the masterpieces of their makers, applies also to the specimens of the same order made in the brown ware of Raeren. They are all presentation pieces, specially elaborated with the view of making them worthy of the acceptance and admiration of a powerful patron, from whom some favour was begged and expected. The armorial bearings—always the principal feature of the

AFRICA BRONZEE
Antiquities of the African continent

17



Hotel de Cluny Museum

PRINTED BY T. BODDNER & CO.

decoration—have, in most cases, reference to noblemen and church dignitaries residing in the neighbourhood who had no doubt interested themselves in the prosperity of the potters and had exerted some influence on the condition and development of the craft.

On the bottle or "Gourde," fig. 124, we have the arms of one of the abbots of Corneli Münster, a monastery which stood near Aix-la-Chapelle, in proximity to Raeren. From the initials, E. V. E. A. 1628, inscribed above the escutcheon, we gather that it was made for "Erman Von Eynatten, Abbot"; this personage had ruled over the community since 1620, when the bottle was offered to him. We must recollect that it was on the Eynatten territory that the potters used to dig out the fine whitish clay required for the making of the highest class articles. It was consequently of great moment to them to keep on good terms with the lords of the land.

No doubt this specimen represents the best style of work that could be obtained in 1628, that is to say, at a time when the end was fast approaching, and when the best "formschneiders," like Jan Emens and his contemporaries, had long since ceased to produce new models. The heraldic medallion is the only applied ornament; it is supplemented only with graceful carving by hand of a pattern of wiry stems, each branch terminated with a "fleur-de-lis" stamped with a seal in the wet clay. All the ground is stained with bright cobalt blue, while the floriated design, deeply sunk, remains of the grey colour of the clay. The sides of the bottle are supplied with four loops, allowing a chain to be passed through them for the purpose of slinging it on the shoulder.

The record of another prior of Corneli Münster has been found on a fragment dug up at Raeren. The inscription, incomplete and much obliterated, has however been reconstituted by Mr. Schuermans, who gives it as:

JOAN ANDREAS A CORTENBACH PRIOR MONASTERII INDENORUM.

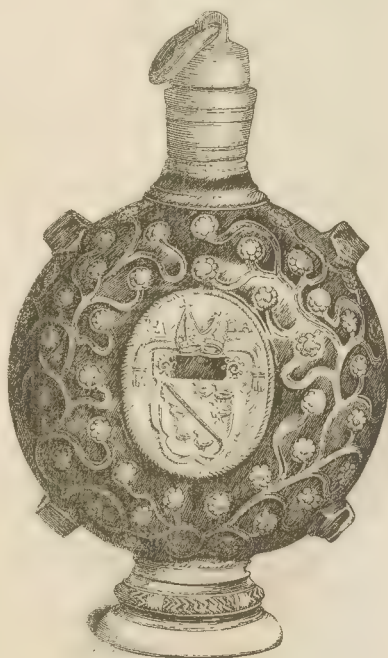


Fig. 124. Germanic Museum, Nuremberg. Height, 10½ in.

The fragment bears the arms of the Cortenbach family, and the Joan Andreas referred to was prior of Corneli Münster up to 1639.

Another patron of the potters had his arms emblazoned upon a gourde of the same type, perhaps of a better class than the former, and which—although not dated—must be anterior by a few years; by its superior style it seems to belong to the best

period of manufacture (fig. 125). The letters E. V. R.—D. O. refer us to a certain "Edmond von Reuschenberg, Deutschen Ordens." The Teutonic order, of which this Edmond von Reuschenberg was commander, had established a branch house at Siesdorf, a few miles north of Raeren. To such a distinguished and important neighbour the potters had certainly an interest to show some courtesy, and, in exchange for his patronage, to present him with some suitable testimonial. This bottle, probably a collective offering from the craft, is on a par with the finest examples of the potters' skill; no trouble was spared to make it worthy both of the donors and of him who was to receive it. Its clever workmanship made a pot of common clay equal in value to the most sumptuous vessels wrought in precious metal.

In the village itself, and in the midst of the pot works, was situated the convent of the Croisiers monks of Brandenburg. We have every reason to believe that the



Fig. 125. Anc. Coll. Disch. Height, 17½ in.

good fathers kept up a constant intercourse with the masters, and that they were supplied by them with stoneware drinking and other utensils required for the use of the community. No record of this connection would however have existed, had it not been for the fine grey and blue jug in the Berlin Museum, which has the arms of the priory stamped in the front, with the date 1605 (fig. 126). This copy appears to be so far unique,—not a single fragment of the same medallion having ever turned up in the excavations.

From all Catholic countries distinguished visitors came to the monasteries and convents of Limburg. All were shown over the pot works, and could not fail to take a lively interest in the manufacture of the curious and handsome stone pots made only in that place. The facility thus afforded to them of giving their orders direct to the maker induced many to have special sets of drinking vessels made with their own crest or coat of arms; these they took away along with them on their return to their own country, not merely as curiosities from a foreign land, but also as things of beauty. The ware could be fashioned under their eyes, as their taste and fancy suggested; if they had a preference for a certain shape not usually produced in the works, the customers could give the design or model to be followed, and thus obtain a set of earthen pots which would suit their tastes, and be, besides, unlike anything ever made. An unmistakable instance of such a practice is offered to us in a small jug (fig. 127) bearing in exergue of the medallion the inscription:

+ JOHAN MINTZENBERG PRIOR CARMEL.

The convent here in question is that of the Carmelites of Frankfort, and the prior, desirous of obtaining from the Raeren potter some special vases and jugs to adorn his table, must have chosen from amongst the precious vases in his possession a small silver cruet of the kind used in the celebration of sacred rites, and have instructed the makers to reproduce it in clay. The mode of proceeding is evident: such an exact copy of a sacred vessel departs too much from the usual run of stoneware pots to be regarded as having ever been a common article of trade.

Let us not forget to mention two other distant patrons of the Flemish pot-makers



Fig. 126. Berlin Museum.



Fig. 127. Meurer Coll. Height, 11 in.

who occupied a high position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy,—Adam von Bicken, Archbishop of Mayence, the inscribed portrait of whom has been embossed on many pieces of brown ware, and Balthazar Reiner de Brée, Abbot of St. Martin the Great, of Cologne, for whose private use and that of his convent so many jugs were made, stamped with his crest and motto, that samples of them are still to be seen in many collections. They all bear the applied medallion shown in fig. 128, with the inscription :

BALTHASAR . REINE . A . B . Ab . MAR . SPES . MEA . DEUS.

Either the potters have unduly appropriated the medallion, or the abbot was such a popular character in Cologne that his fellow-citizens purchased willingly any jug bearing his crest and device, but we find it impressed on pieces of all shapes, where it is associated with other subjects that have nothing to do with that worthy personage. On the very specimen from which we have taken our sketch the corresponding medallions happen to be the well-known badge supposed to represent the potters' arms.



Fig. 128. Brussels Museum.

We have full evidence that, besides the above-named dignitaries in the religious orders, and many others whose names we cannot record here, the potters counted amongst their protectors and constant customers the Archbishops of Cologne, Mayence, Trèves, and indeed almost all the bishops of Flanders and Germany.

The monastery of St. Cornelius, Corneli Münster, situated near Aix-la-Chapelle, and therefore at a short distance from Raeren, attracted to its shrine an immense crowd of pilgrims. In the treasures of the convent were preserved a great number of holy relics, including the Sacred Tunic, most devoutly revered, although six others were known to be in existence at the time; and through the hallowed precincts flowed a stream of miraculous water, said to cure all the evils to which flesh is heir. We have seen the arms and names of some of the priors stamped on the ware; to the Raeren potters had also been entrusted the making of such portable flasks as were filled at the spring with holy water, to be carried away by the pilgrims, or forwarded abroad to believers unable to come and drink it on the spot. Of the many thousands of these pilgrim bottles constantly distributed amongst the devotees of Northern Europe, a single one has come

down to us, it is now in the British Museum, and we give it here (figs. 129, 130), represented on its two faces.

There is no clue to its probable date, although we have good cause to believe that it belongs to the early period. A desire of emulating the Siegburg ware pervades the style of workmanship. The clay is made as light as the Raeren clay would allow, so as to resemble the white stone, and the subjects have none of the clumsiness of the early Flemish works. The softly rounded treatment of the highly-relieved figures do not recall the bold and hard touch of the professional "formschneider": if we are right in our conjecture, the model must have been contrived at the suggestion of the fathers of



Fig. 129.



Fig. 130.

PILGRIM BOTTLE, WITH THE PATRON SAINTS OF CORNELI MÜNSTER. British Museum.

the Abbey, who directed that, instead of the indifferent work of an unknown mould-cutter, impressions should be taken from some reliefs wrought in "repoussé" on one of the silver reliquaries preserved in the treasury; in that manner the cast obtained from the chosen subjects became a most suitable adornment for the intended bottle. Perhaps also these subjects may have been borrowed from the official seals of the Abbey, and are merely a reproduction of the wax bulla appended to the deeds and muniments issued by the religious authority. Whether this last construction be the true one, may probably be easily ascertained by consulting the records of the Monastery, a research which it has not been in our power to undertake.

The front part shows the two patron saints of the world-renowned sanctuary, St. Cornelius and St. Peter; the one distinguishable by the symbolic horn he holds in his

hand, the other by his emblematic keys; each has his own coat of arms placed underneath, the horn, and a five-pointed star respectively. On the reverse an angel displays the holy tunic, offered at the Abbey to the veneration of the faithful; below it the imperial arms of Germany. On the neck, and cut by hand as a private mark, we have the enigmatic 4 on one side; on the other an embossed rosette reproducing one of

the rich clasps, composed of precious stones skilfully mounted, which were usually worn on the ecclesiastical vestments of the period.

An inscription in Gothic letters, running in the outer band of the circular subject, informs us most distinctly of the destination of the small bottle. The lettering of course has been added by the potter, who scraped off in the mould such ornamental wreath as framed the original subject, to sink in its stead the appropriate legend necessary to indicate on the flask the sacred source of its contents. The corresponding wreath has been left untouched on the other side.

Only an approximate translation can be given of the inscription, written in Low German and with an obsolete spelling; it runs thus:

COEPT I FLES VAN AKEN TER SPOET EN
HOOT D'IN HERLICH WATER TES GOËT.

"Buy a bottle of Achen" (Aix-la-Chapelle), "for on that spot flows God's holy water."



Fig. 131.
South Kensington Museum.

The style of the workmanship is so unlike anything ever made at Raeren that the piece was for a long time attributed to Siegburg, until several fragments of the same flask having been discovered in the excavations at the first-named place, doubt could no longer exist as to its origin. Siegburg having undoubtedly been the first in the field, to imitate its products was often the ambition of its competitors. Of this we find a most striking example in a fine circular bottle with flattened faces, bearing the arms of Saxony, once in the Huyvetter collection (fig. 131). The master, Jan Emens, has been at great trouble to

endow his work with all the peculiar qualities extolled by the admirers of the white ware; not only did he use a special kind of grey clay of the lightest tint, but also he has, in the treatment of the reliefs, emulated successfully the sharp style of the best "formschneider" who worked in the abbatial town.

In the spouted jug (fig. 132) the imitation is still more flagrant, the profile of the piece, as well as the ornamentation raised and incised all over the surface, are so evidently copied from a Siegburg model, that, were it not for a marked difference in the clay, no one would ever think of attributing it to Raeren. An obvious recollection of the early "wiedercome" of white ware is also noticeable in the small goblet surmounted with a figure in the Flemish costume of the seventeenth century (fig. 133).

Excepting the members of religious orders who have, in great numbers, been supplied with jugs stamped with their arms, small account seems to have been taken of the noblemen inhabiting the district. No lord had there a right to impose upon the independent potters the obligation of stamping the best class of ware with the armorial bearings of their powerful liege, as we have seen the custom existing at Siegburg with regard to the Duke of Cleves-Berg. Occasionally do we find the arms of some governor or "Drossart" of the province; but they are, as a rule, impressed upon commonplace jugs

of good make, but which have nothing of the importance of the stately testimonials presented by the craft to their spiritual lords, whose patronage was much more valuable. Thus the shields of Phillip Lomont and his wife occur sometimes on unpretending pieces. During the most flourishing period of manufacture, from 1587 to 1598, Phillip Lomont administered all the region round Raeren, as "Drossart" of the ban of Walhorn. His castle stood on the very spot where the new church has been erected, and he was, as may be expected, the most important inhabitant of the town. But the



Fig. 132.
Anc. Coll. J. Paul. Height, 9½ in.

influence of such local officers did not extend far from the centre of their jurisdictions, and no great favour could be expected from them; therefore they were not treated, as it appears, any better than ordinary private customers, and no exceptional piece of fancy shape appears ever to have been made in their intention.

A solitary record has also been preserved on the ware of another governor of the province, Arnold Shuyl, who succeeded Lomont as Drossart of Walhorn in 1598; it is no more than a simple fragment stamped with his arms, found in the soil among the *débris*; the initials A. S. D. W. leave no doubt as to its identification.

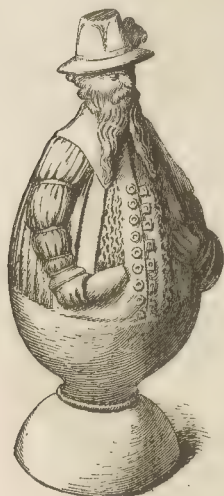


Fig. 133.
SMALL DRINKING VESSEL.
Thewalt Coll.

From 1623 to 1634 Claude Hannot held the office in his turn, and this is also recorded on the ware by a medallion bearing his arms and the inscription:

CLAUDE HANNOT DROSSART DU HAULT BANCK DE
WALHORN.

All the neighbouring gentry had, at one time or another, caused sets of drinking vessels to be made in stoneware with their respective heraldic bearings; Mr. Schuermans, in his interesting paper, "*Les poteries de Raeren aux armes des gouverneurs et des nobles du Limbourg*," has given an exhaustive list of them. Few amongst those armored pieces come out of the ordinary run of drinking utensils, and they possess little artistic interest, the decoration consisting mainly of the heraldic medallion embossed on the front. We must, however, make an exception in favour of a jug, which is at once of great local importance and of some artistic pretension.

It is said to commemorate the union of one of the magnates of the district, Peter von Swartzenberg, with the noble dame Marguerite Krummel von Nechtersheim, in 1566. We cannot for one instant entertain the idea that the jug, a sketch of which is here shown (fig. 134), was made at such an early date, for we know that only brown, and no grey and blue ware, had up to that time been produced. This remarkable specimen happens to be precisely of the fine grey and blue ware of the latest period, and if it really refers to the parties above named, a conciliatory way of explaining the apparent discrepancy existing between the date of the event and the style of the piece would be to assume that it had been prepared to commemorate their golden wedding half a century later.

The shape is more eccentric than well-proportioned; the good traditions have all but disappeared, and the disconnected details of the decoration are strewn at random over the whole surface. The central part is occupied by a circular medallion, where the married couple are represented standing under a canopy of vine-leaves; the gentleman holding a glass of wine in his hand, and the lady being attended by a dwarf playing the hurdy-gurdy. On the field over their heads are inscribed the initials P. S.,—"Peter Swartzenberg,"—without which the identity of the personages could not be established. An angel, a figure of St. John, several times repeated, and some cherubs' heads, may all be emblematical of the marriage ceremony, but the costumes of the figures indicate the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the general character of the decoration denotes clearly the last moments of the artistic pottery of Raeren. We can safely say that on no other example is so plainly evidenced and illustrated the transitory style which unites the latest works of the Flemish potters working on their own land, with those they were to produce a short time afterwards when they settled at Grenzhausen; this emigration of a large part of the craft will be dealt with in one of the following chapters. It is enough to cast a glance at our sketch to recognize at once the very palmettes and rosettes, the cherubs' heads, and all the applied details which were soon to constitute the principal elements of decoration adopted by the potters of the land of Wied. As to the names of three Dutch towns inscribed on the front of the jug by the side of three armored shields,—



Fig. 134.
GREY AND BLUE WARE. South Kensington Museum.
Height, 18 in.

Fig. 135. B^m. Oppenheim Coll.

for them, duly inscribed with their names in full letters. A circular flask of the Oppenheim collection bears in addition the date 1587, which removes all doubt as to the precise time at which they were manufactured (fig. 135).

Fig. 136. BROWN WARE. B^m. Oppenheim Coll.
Height, 14 in.

ZWOL, KAMPEN, DEVENTER,—the only explanation that presents itself to our mind is that the worthy couple may at one time have lived in these towns, or perhaps that they possessed some property in that country. These are "rébus" that could be solved only through an intimate acquaintance with the private life of the personages. This vase is by no means the only instance of the name and arms of Peter von Swartzenberg and his wife appearing on the stoneware, and their escutcheon is represented in several collections on pieces made expressly

for them, duly inscribed with their names in full letters. It is principally at the late period that the skilful craftsman, when not employed in turning out his regular supply of commonplace patterns to satisfy the demands of the every-day trade, seems fond of leaving the beaten track for a while to follow the dictates of his whimsical imagination. The novelties which he created under that impulse were all unique performances; hence their scarcity. Neither do they, however highly perfected in their workmanship, come, as a rule, within the range of formal testimonials, a class so well represented by the typical ewer of lofty proportions, and the orthodox travelling or harvest bottle. Seldom inscribed or armoried, they look more private in their character; it is as though the maker, when bent in contriving them, had no other aim in view than his own pleasure and satisfaction. Here we have, for instance, on fig. 136 a real masterpiece of the craft which is neither signed or inscribed. It is an interpretation of the bird of wisdom very different from the

conventional owls of Siegburg. Although far from being naturalistic in its treatment, it evinces, however, an evident desire of approaching as near as possible to nature; a feeling which always distinguishes the Flemish potter from his German brother. The movable head is strangely animated, and the expression is still enhanced through the eyes and beak being touched up with opaque white and black enamel. Over the body, plainly fashioned by hand, imbrications of feathers of different sizes have been stuck, one after another, so as to form the plumage.

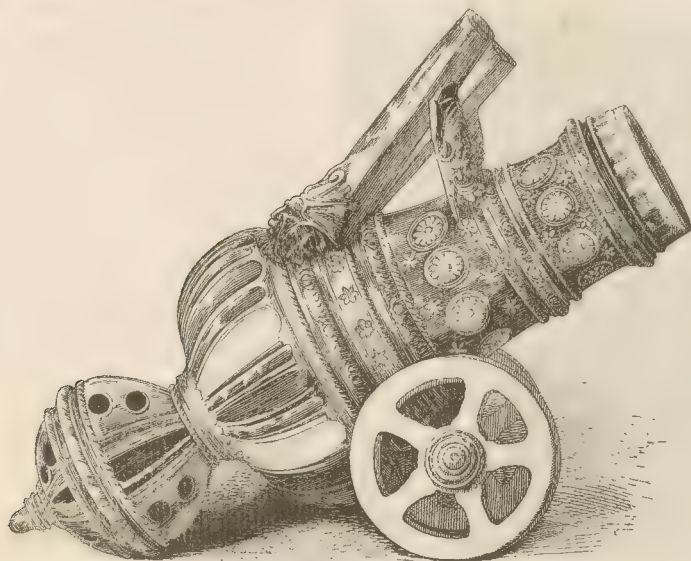


Fig. 137. GREY AND BLUE WARE. Museum of Antiquities, Brussels.

A charming jug, also unique (fig. 137), has been designed in imitation of a fanciful cannon. It is mounted on pewter wheels, and could be pushed along the table. Two long spouts, disposed on the upper part, suggest one of those curious puzzle pieces out of which two liquids, wine or water, could be poured at will by those acquainted with the trick. Like the above piece, this has neither arms nor monograms to intimate that it was made for a particular destination.

Other puzzle jugs, with elaborately pierced necks, a mystery to the uninitiated and a source of merriment for the guests; pocket flagons in the shape of a prayer-book

(fig. 138), also used as hand-warmers by the ladies, who, in the winter, carried them in their muffs, as well as many other curious and amusing contrivances, can be ranged under the same head.

The masterpieces made by the able workman aspiring to be elected a master are not to be looked for at Raeren before the year 1619, the date of the incorporation of the craft. Late pieces of exceptional merit, and which show neither coat of arms nor inscription to any noble patron, may alone be considered as having been executed

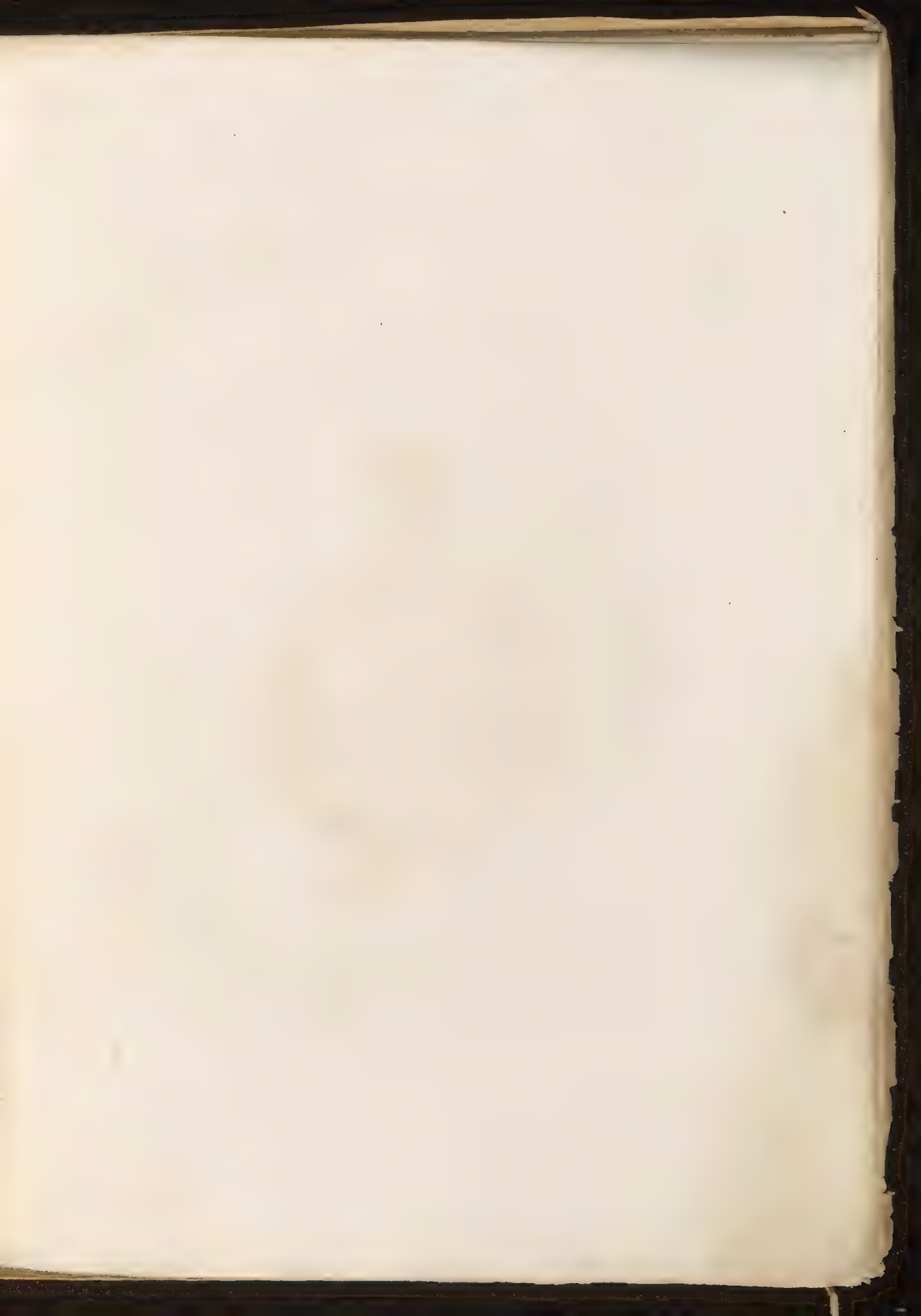


Fig. 138. HAND WARMER. Sauvageot Coll.
Height, 5 in.

under such circumstances; among this number may be counted the large fountain in the Kensington Museum with the "Lanceknechts," and the one in the Sauvageot Museum, reproduced on fig. 139. It is not without interest to notice that this latter bears precisely the date of the year of the incorporation, 1619. An event of such importance could not fail to put each member on his mettle, each trying to outdo his neighbour; we find through dated specimens that their competitive efforts resulted in the most elaborate and complicated masterpieces that could be fashioned by the cleverest hands.

The present example is, from top to foot, covered with an exuberance of details never before indulged in on the richest vases of the preceding period. The arrangement of the

central ornament, where perforations alternate with lions' heads in high relief, alone retain something of the refined taste of the Renaissance artist. The frieze is divided into twenty compartments, in which the story of the Good Samaritan in eight pictures is several times repeated; over and underneath the band of subjects runs a German inscription, but so broken and incomplete that it would be difficult to reconstitute its sense did we not know the text of the parable: "Which of these three in thy opinion was neighbour to him that fell among robbers? But he said, He that showed mercy to him. And Jesus said unto him, Go and do thou in like manner. (St. Luke, ch. x.) 1619."



∴ $n \in R$ and



E r n e s t h e n

SEATTLE BY TORRANCE 2 1/2

The "Lanceknechts" fountain, almost of the same proportions and presenting the same redundancy of applied ornaments, is also made of grey clay enhanced with blue enamel.

No one will question the justice of regarding the two flattened bottles of grey and blue ware, now in Baron Oppenheim's collection, as masterpieces of the craft. One of them has been engraved on Plate XV. The master potter himself is, if we are not mistaken, represented, arms akimbo, in the centre of the piece. He wears a rich costume; a chain encircles his neck, and a sword hangs at his side. Two letters, T. W., are stamped on each side of the figure; there is little doubt as to their being those of the maker, although his full name has not yet been disclosed to us. On the companion bottle the monogram T. W. is stamped on the side of the neck, in a way that denotes clearly a potter's mark; the same initials are also stamped, but in a reversed order, on the prayer-book (fig. 137). A richly framed label, on the back of the first bottle, bears the word "ABRAHAM" raised in large letters; this may be the name of a friend to whom the potter thus presented a twofold memento—a specimen of his skill and his own portrait carved in the clay.

The second bottle is evidently intended to make a pair with the first. The general design is identical; but here the middle part of the radiated fluting, which covers the body of the piece, is occupied by a medallion containing a figure in Roman costume, holding a spade in the hand and leaning against a cross. A strange sentence is inscribed round the subject:



Fig. 139. GREY AND BLUE WARE. Sauvageot Coll.
Height, 27 in.

DI . GEDOLD . HAT . AL . ZEIT . GENOG . UND . GEIN . NOT . HAT . SI . NOR .
EIN . BIES . BROD.

"Patience is always satisfied, and does not complain as long as she has a piece of bread to eat."

The idea of a drinking vase bearing such a maxim having ever been offered to a patron or protector could not be entertained, and one cannot be wrong in recognizing in these interesting specimens the friendly testimonial of a Raeren man to one of his neighbours.

Never was the Raeren potter urged so far ahead in the field of fancy than when, forgetting awhile his daily beaten track, he contrived those pieces of eccentricity known as annular jugs. At first formed of a single hollow ring, supported by an elegant foot and surmounted with a slender neck, the notion was soon varied by the addition of another complete ring crossing the first at right angles, or by half a ring being grafted on the whole one, either on the front or at the back, vertically or horizontally—in short, with such a variety of dispositions as to make almost of each of these jugs a peculiar and unique specimen. At all events, it is in such a light that we may regard the few rare examples that have come down to us. If we add to their merit of originality and scarcity the fact that each of them, as though it had been the favourite production of its maker, is tastefully covered with a profusion of neat and well-applied reliefs, we can easily understand the admiration with which they are regarded by all collectors, and why the happy possessor of an annular jug treasures it as the gem of his whole show. The puzzle plan has been adopted in their combination, each ring being made to contain a different liquid, which can only be drunk by using a certain stratagem.

They are all made of light grey clay heightened with bright blue, and the subjects impressed on them are generally the same as we have seen on the vases. At the time when they began to be manufactured the brown body was being abandoned as old-fashioned for articles of artistic pretensions. So blue and limpid is the blue of the glaze that, at the moment when the pot works of the land of Wied were exclusively credited with the production of this fine colour, all the ring jugs had been attributed, without exception, to Höhr-Grenzhausen. The infatuation is now over; but we may well wonder how it could ever have survived in the face of the numerous examples of Siegburg, and especially of Raeren manufacture, which show from early times the unquestionable use of cobalt on the ware. Even before the mode of firing was altered in order to bring out the brilliancy of the blue, we see it employed on the early brown ware, where of course it remained dull and of blackish hue. On the white ware it

[illegible]
$$A \subset B \Rightarrow A \cap B = A \quad A \cap A = A$$

developed always a pure azure tint, and it showed the same quality on the grey ware of Limburg. The secret of obtaining this fine blue glaze was a tradition preserved amongst a few potters' families, and the secret, it is said, was very jealously guarded. One specimen, bearing the arms of the Count of Wied, went far to strengthen the theory of the Grenzhausen origin; but the arms of that family were so often embossed on the Raeren ware that their presence does not of necessity settle the attribution. The fig. 103 has been taken from a fine bottle of undoubted Limburg ware, now in the South Kensington Museum, and the same medallion appears on a piece of similar shape in the Sauvageot collection. None but well-known Raeren models have been employed in the decoration of annular jugs, and if any doubt still subsisted as to their origin, a close examination of the clay itself and other technical features of original specimens—to say nothing of the dates and local marks exhibited by some of them—would soon settle the question to the satisfaction of all connoisseurs.

Two most elaborate examples of the highest order are to be seen in the Museum of Antiquities at Brussels. A sketch of one of these is give here (fig. 140). The combination consists of two complete rings intersecting each other vertically. On the front part of the piece are stamped the arms of Amsterdam and of Saxony; both probably arbitrarily chosen by the workman without any other purpose but that of adornment. The side ring is covered with figures of Spanish soldiers marching with drum and flag.

The other jug is formed of a whole ring to which one half ring has been fitted horizontally, so as to project on the front, while at the back a similar segment serves to unite the neck with the foot. The same march of soldiers is repeated again upon the piece, with the addition of the arms of Spain and the two potters' marks given previously in figs. 94, 95. A simpler jug of the same type is shown in fig. 141: to the whole ring

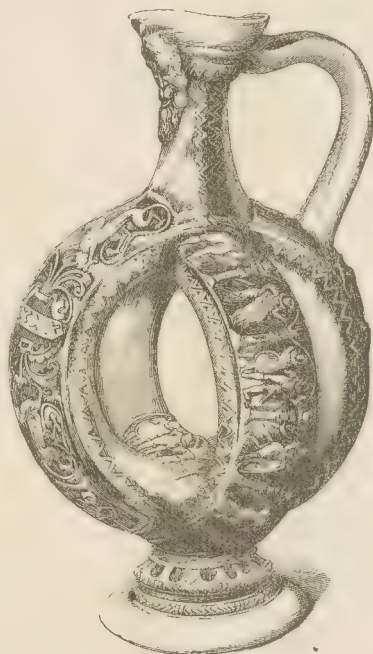


Fig. 140. GREY AND BLUE WARE.
Museum of Antiquities, Brussels. Height, 16 in.

forming the face of the piece a fragmentary one has been added on the reverse side, decorated this time with the figures of the electors of the empire, and several grotesque masks often seen on Raeren ware. This latter has neither inscription nor date.

In the Minard collection two annular jugs, richly ornamented, bear the arms and name of the nobleman for whom they were made. They are both inscribed:

"RICKWIN VAN ESSEN HERR TOT SWANENBERG, ANNO 1633." At this date art pottery was almost extinct in the district, so these may be taken as odd works made exceptionally by one of the last masters, who still strove to keep up the fame and credit of the departing craft.

These most interesting specimens will be the last ones we shall have to describe; after them we find nothing but the common beer pots, the only products of a manufacture suddenly fallen to decay. But before leaving the subject of Raeren and its stoneware, we would like to present, as a recapitulation of the present chapter, a few observations bearing upon its idiosyncratic character, suggested by a comparison between it and the ware made at Siegburg at a contemporaneous time.

We have seen that, in both centres, the typical forms adhered to until the very end are precisely those which the potter had himself imagined at the outset for the display of his earliest, and often of his best, decorative workmanship. Those thus originated in each place have nothing in common with each other, and would in them-

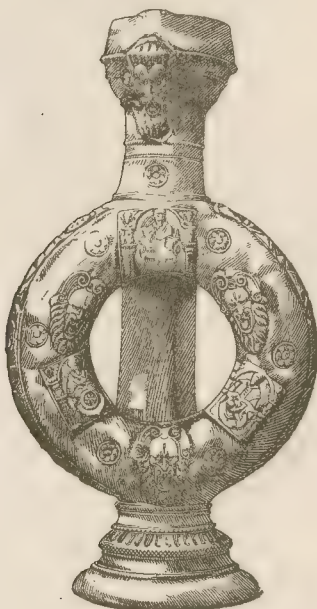


Fig. 141. GREY AND BLUE WARE.
Bos. Oppenheim Coll.
Height, 15 in.

selves suffice to establish a line of demarcation between the works of the two countries.

But the well-marked contrast does not stop at a peculiar choice of forms, it also makes itself conspicuous in all details contributing to their completeness. In the sixteenth century art was, in all central Europe, looking up to Italy for inspiration, and obeying the dictates of that pleiade of masterly spirits whose combined artistic achievements had suddenly started from the sunny south a movement widely spreading into the northern countries. Flanders had not remained obdurate to the changes thus

inaugurated, and we notice that Raeren, in its modest capability, likewise followed in the van of progress. None of the most ancient pieces of brown ware may be said to affect the Gothic stiffness which characterizes to the end the white ware of Siegburg. There, indifferent to all extraneous evolution of the artistic world, the potter remained immersed in the contemplation of the dry, angular, and formal sculptures carved on the stone walls of the German cathedrals. The gilt and painted reredos, crowded with quaint figures in the hieratic and formal attitudes dear to the masters of the Cologne and Mayence schools, were studied by him as the most admirable models. To set forth in a more forcible way the inherent disparities between the Flemish and German fabrics, and which separate the ones from the others, we shall place side by side two comprehensive specimens of both wares, say, for instance, a brown glazed vase of elaborate profile and of glossy, shining surface, and a stiff and formal *schnelle* of dull and colourless biscuit. By confronting together these two examples,—the extremes of the scale formed by the various types of stoneware,—we shall deduct a few general remarks applying, as a rule, to all intermediate degrees.

Let us select on one hand, as a representative of the art of Raeren, one of the typical vases the middle part of which is occupied by a frieze of many figures. The "Susanna jug," previously described, will as well as any other serve our present purpose.

We must recapitulate the most salient features by which such a vase distinguishes itself from other works of pottery, in order to elicit its striking and peculiar merits. Before we come to examine it in detail, the general effect has already attracted and fixed our attention; we are forced to admire the rich tints of its brown colour, rivalling in deepness of tone that of an old Italian bronze. Looking at it more closely, we shall have to praise the material as well as the workmanship;—the fineness of the clay, the hardness and transparency of the glaze, the skill with which the form has been fashioned on the wheel, and the ornamented reliefs applied. Then, as we look at it under different aspects, our eye grows more and more fascinated by the ever-changing effects of glimmer and shade created by the rays of light clinging in silvery threads to the sharp outlines, and adding depth to the shadows of the cavities and receding parts of the bold carving. Simplicity, it is true, has not presided over the delineation of the somewhat complicated profile; still, the proportions of the various segments, which, staged over each other, constitute the form, are not without grace and harmony. From the straight and perpendicular cylinder placed between the two graceful curvatures of the shoulder and the nether cup, results a very happy contrast. To attenuate the abrupt manner in which this stiff band breaks the ove of the vase, a double set of architectural mouldings, chased with delicate work or accentuated from place to place with deep perforations, is

cunningly interposed: they form for the principal picture a well-befitting frame. In the picturesque subjects embossed on the frieze we shall find matter for consideration; our interest is however captivated furthermore by inscriptions which tell us something of the maker of the vase, or testify at any rate to the pride he felt in acknowledging it as a work of his hand. As if it was not sufficient that the eye should be charmed by graceful forms and evanescent effects of colour, we find there also food for the mind. The work is no longer an anonymous one,—a name, a date, a short sentence, will put the historian on the track of long-forgotten old craftsmen and the times they lived in.

But if now, from the Raeren vase we have just attempted to describe and analyze, we pass to an equally good representative of Siegburg ware, and submit it in its turn to our critical examination, we see at once that we cannot expect to find there any of the particular qualities which we have recognized and extolled in our former example; indeed, in the present one, we shall observe merits of a very different order.

The object of our selection will be the slender *schnelles*, or *canettes*, of white ware, genuine types of Germanic pottery. We are bound to acknowledge that the piece is far from being attractive at first sight. Its surface is of a deadened white, harsh and cold, like the stone from which the ware has taken its name. The brightest ray of light would fail to communicate to it any brightness or animation. In form it is but a rudimentary vessel, with neither foot nor neck, on which no sets of mouldings, no angular or rounded profiles, come to interrupt the straight and formal line that runs from top to bottom. One may say that, in the present case, form is reduced to its most insignificant expression. Nevertheless, if we continue our scrutiny, we shall soon discover, under this unpromising appearance, sterling qualities which place this vessel on a par with the most highly-praised works of the potter of all ages. In the first place, the clay it is made of surpasses in fineness of grain and density of texture all other clays used for the making of earthenware, and better than any other it retains, after the highest firing, the most minute details of the workmanship. In an artistic point of view the sharp and stylish carving with which the *schnelle* is illustrated will afford ample scope for our admiration; but it is not by their artistic treatment alone that these carvings speak to the imagination; it is, above all, by the choice of the subjects and the deep meaning they seem to convey that our interest will be awakened. Let us take, for instance, the allegory of the virtuous and the worldly man, represented on a rare *schnelle*, a copy of which was formerly in the Minard collection.

The whole tale is developed with that abundance of accessory details the artists of Mediæval times were so fond of lavishing on their mystic conceptions. Through a rent in the clouds the figure of the Almighty appears holding in His hands the ends of

two long strings, by means of which He draws to Himself the heart of one of the two personages kneeling in the centre of the composition. While one holds up his heart towards heaven, his companion seems to throw away his own in exchange for earthly goods, represented accumulated at his feet, and in every part of the surrounding scene—noble palaces and stately gardens, crowns and sceptres, open purses and coffers filled with gold, jewels and vases of precious metal, in short all the riches of the world to which he has enslaved himself. But we have to regret that the teaching this picture is intended to convey stops at its plastic representation; not a word of inscription is added to assist us in understanding the recondite allegory, all is left to our own reflection and sagacity. The same lack of information is felt still more deeply with respect to the maker of this extraordinary piece; in his indifference to the good opinion of the succeeding generations he never thought of marking his work with his name or with any sign which might supply us with a clue to his identity. It is the most telling example to contrast with a Flemish jug: here there is no feast for the eye, none of the softly rounded embossments on which the light plays so pleasantly, but a low relief work harshly carved in with a sharp and stiff chisel, delineating every detail with the same firmness and the same accuracy. The more we look at it, however, the more it engrosses our mind; if it does not appeal to our senses, it excites in us a dreamy feeling of curiosity never to be satisfied completely. Although it tells nothing of its maker, by the very absence of his name, and by the strange selection of that mysterious subject, it affords us nevertheless an insight into his social condition and that of all his brethren in the craft. We can trace the influence that the neighbouring monastery exercised over the work of the artisan, and observe that in the same way that the personality of the monk was merged in the order to which he belonged, so the potter's individuality was absorbed in his Guild. We come to the conclusion that none of its members ever attempted to claim as his own any of his most meritorious achievements, but each remained satisfied to see the credit he deserved personally redound to the greater glory of the commonwealth, and we give up all hopes of ever knowing his private history. For a moment the faith and creeds of a far distant time arise before us through a short contemplation of a mere earthen pot.

We cannot expect to recognize these characteristics impressed in an equal degree on all the productions originating from one or the other centre. A Raeren piece is not, of necessity, sure to charm us by richness of colour, elegance of form, and effective carvings; all subjects embossed on the Siegburg ware will not invariably awake in us a train of religious or philosophical thought. Still, the contrast between the Flemish and German works remains clearly emphasized in some unmistakable points. We shall find, as a rule, the ornamented brown jug picturesque of aspect and attractive to the

eye; in its decorative treatment we shall trace, if we are allowed to say so, something of the spirit of the Italian masters permeating, as it were, the whole conception—subject, as a matter of course, to such modifications as southern art would necessarily undergo when transplanted in another country.

On the other hand, whatever may be the class of subjects we happen to find on these schnelles of white ware, they will always be linked together by the style of execution. An unmitigated Gothic tradition asserts itself in all designs; they represent the genuine Germanic feeling, that no foreign notions can influence, and which prevails to the end, even in the cases where copies from Renaissance models were timidly introduced in deference to the fashion of the times.

This perhaps too lengthy appreciation of two very different styles of pottery has not been drawn, let it be understood, with the intent of disparaging either of them; far from it; we hope, on the contrary, that our observations may confirm the reader in any personal liking he may entertain either for the productions of Raeren or for those of Siegburg.





